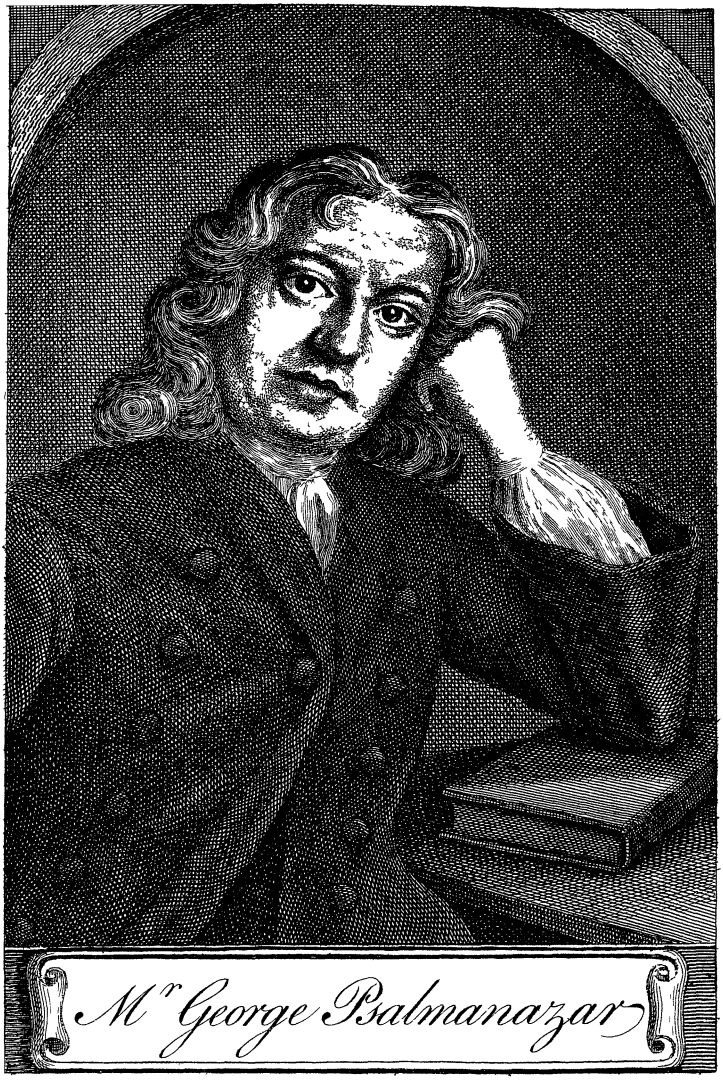
Mr George Psalmanazar

MEMOIRS of ****.

Commonly known by the Name of

GEORGE PSALMANAZAR;

A

Reputed Native of FORMOSA.

Written by himſelf,

In order to be publiſhed after his Death:

CONTAINING

An Account of his Education, Travels, Adventures, Connections, Literary Productions, and pretended Converſion from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, which laſt proved the Occaſion of his being brought over into this Kingdom, and paſſing for a Proſelyte, and a Member of the Church of England.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON.

Printed for R DAVIS, in Picadilly, J NEWBERY, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; L DAVIS and C. REYMERS, in Holborn.

MDCCLXV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following ſheets were firſt printed for the benefit of Mr. Pſalmanazar's executrix; who thought it right to prefix his LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, as the beſt introduction to them. Mr. Pſalmanazar's firſt intimation of giving this public account of himſelf, may be found under the article FORMOSA, in the COMPLETE SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY *, in which he aſſiſted as a writer †. Where he was born, and who were his parents, do not yet appear for certain; even in theſe poſthumous Memoirs he has endeavoured to keep them inviolable ſecrets. From circumſtances, however, there is little reaſon to doubt, but that he was a native of France: indeed he ſpoke the French language ſo well, beyond what is uſual when attained by grammar, or travel, that we do not queſtion to ſay, He was a Frenchman. His pronunciation had a ſpice of the Gaſcoin accent, and in that provincial dialect he was ſo maſterly, that none but thoſe born in the country could equal, none though born there could excel him: for notwithſtanding it may be eſteemed but a *patois*, or jargon, yet foreigners find it impracticable to be ſpoken

* Vo. II p. 251 publiſhed in 1747.

† See Memoirs p 339.

with

with propriety, and with that fluency and vivacity peculiar to thoſe people: and from this we preſume, that ſome part of Languedoc may lay claim to his birth. The reverend Mr. Villette, who was intimately acquainted with him for upwards of four and twenty years, and had many opportunities to obſerve him, and to know him well, has communicated theſe conjectures, which the judicious reader, perhaps, will ſee ſufficiently confirmed from ſeveral paſſages in the following Memoirs.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ME A POOR SINFUL AND WORTHLESS CREATURE COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE ASSUMED NAME OF GEORGE PSALMANAZAR

THY ever bleſſed and unerring Will, Oh moſt gracious, though offended God! be done by me and all the world, whether for life or death.

Into thy all-merciful hands I commit my ſoul, as unto a moſt gracious Father, who, though juſtly provoked by my paſt vain and wicked life, but more eſpecially ſo during the youthful fallies of a raſh and unthinking part of it, has yet been graciouſly pleaſed, by thy undeſerved grace and mercy, to preſerve me from the reigning errors and hereſies, and the more deplorable apoſtacy and infidelity of the preſent age, and enable me to take a conſtant and ſtedfaſt hold on the only author of our ſalvation, thy ever adorable and divine Son Jeſus Chriſt, our pow-

erful and meritorius Redeemer, from whoſe alone, and all-powerful interceſſion and merits (and not from any the leaſt inherent righteouſneſs of my own, which I heartily abhor as filthy rags in thine all purer eyes) I hope and beg for pardon and reconciliation and for a happy reſurrection unto that bleſſed immortality, to which we are redeemed by his moſt precious and ineſtimable blood. I likewiſe bleſs and adore thy infinite goodneſs for preſerving me from innumerable dangers of body and ſoul, to which this wretched life, but more particularly by my own youthful raſhneſs and inconſideration, might have expoſed me, had not thy Divine Providence interpoſed in ſuch a wonderful manner, as juſtly challenges my deepeſt admiration and acknowledgment: particulaly I am bound to bleſs thee for ſo timely nipping that ambition and vain-glory, which had hurried me through ſuch ſcenes of impiety and hypocriſy, and as the moſt effectual antidote againſt it, next to thy divine grace, haſt brought me not only to prefer, but to delight in a ſtate of obſcurity and lowneſs of circumſtances, as the ſureſt harbour of peace and ſafety; by which, though the little I have left in my poſſeſſion be dwindled to ſo little value as to be but a poor acknowledgment for the ſervices which I have received from my friend

friend hereafter named, to whom I can do no leſs than bequeath it all, yet I hope the will may be accepted for the deed, and that the Divine Providence will ſupply to her what is wanting in me. And now, O Father of Mercies! I beſeech thee for thy dear Son's ſake, ſo to direct me by thy grace through all the future concerns of this life, that when, where, or in what manner ſoever it ſhall pleaſe thee to call me out of it, I may be found ready and willing to return my ſoul, worthleſs as it is of itſelf, to thee who gaveſt it; and my death, as well as my latter end, may be ſuch as may tend all poſſible ways to thy glory, the edification of thy church, and my own eternal comfort. And in hopes there is nothing in this my laſt will that is not agreeable to thine, I leave it to be executed after my death by my worthy and pious friend Sarah Rewalling, of this pariſh of St. Luke, in Middleſex, in the manner hereafter mentioned, viz.

I deſire that my body, when or whereever I die, may be kept ſo long above ground, as decency or conveniency will permit, and afterwards conveyed to the common burying-ground, and there interred in ſome obſcure corner of it, without any further ceremony or formality than is uſed to the bodies of the deceaſed penſioners where I happen to die, and about the ſame time of

the day, and that the whole may be performed in the loweſt and cheapeſt manner. And it is my earneſt requeſt, that my body be not incloſed in any kind of coffin, but only decently laid in what is called a ſhell of the loweſt value, and without lid or other covering which may hinder the natural earth from covering it all round.

The books relating to the Univerſal Hiſtory, and belonging to the Proprietors, are to be returned to them according to the true liſt of them, which will be found in a blue paper in my account book. All the reſt being my own property, together with all my houſhold goods, wearing apparel, and whatever money ſhall be found due to me after my deceaſe, I give and bequeath to my friend Sarah Rewalling above-named, together with ſuch manuſcripts as I had written at different times, and deſigned to be made public, if they ſhall be deemed worthy of it, they conſiſting of ſundry eſſays on ſome difficult parts of the Old Teſtament, and chiefly written for the uſe of a young Clergyman in the country, and ſo unhappily acquainted with that kind of learning, that he was likely to become the but of his ſceptical pariſhioners, but being, by this means, furniſhed with proper materials, was enabled to turn the tables upon them.

But

But the principal manuſcript I thought myſelf in duty bound to leave behind, is a faithful narrative of my education, and the ſallies of my wretched youthful years, and the various ways by which I was in ſome meaſure unavoidably led into the baſe and ſhameful impoſture of paſſing upon the world for a native of Formoſa, and a convert to Chriſtianity, and backing it with a fictitious account of that iſland, and of my own travels, converſion, &c. all or moſt of it hatched in my own brain, without regard to truth and honeſty. It is true, I have long ſince diſclaimed even publicly all but the ſhame and guilt of that vile impoſition, yet as long as I knew there were ſtill two editions of that ſcandalous romance remaining in England, beſides the ſeveral verſions it had abroad, I thought it incumbent upon me to undeceive the world, by unravelling that whole myſtery of iniquity in a poſthumous work, which would be leſs liable to ſuſpicion, as the author would be far out of the influence of any ſiniſter motives that might induce him to deviate from the truth. All that I ſhall add concerning it is, that it was began above twenty-five years ago with that view, and no other, during a long receſs in the country, accompanied with a threatening diſeaſe, and ſince then continued in my moſt ſerious hours,

as any thing new preſented itſelf; ſo that it hath little elſe to recommend itſelf but its plainneſs and ſincerity, except here and there ſome uſeful obſervations and innuendoes on thoſe branches of learning in which I had been concerned, and particularly with ſuch excellent improvements as might be made in the method of learning of Hebrew, and in the producing a more perfect body of Univerſal Hiſtory, and more anſwerable to its title than that which hath already paſſed a ſecond edition. And theſe, I thought, might be more deſerving a place in that narrative, as the uſefulneſs of them would in a great meaſure make amends for the ſmall charge of the whole. If it therefore ſhall be judged worth printing, I deſire it may be ſold to the higheſt bidder, in order to pay my arrears for my lodgings, and to defray my funeral; and I further requeſt that it be printed in the plain and undiſguiſed manner in which I have written it, and without alteration or embelliſhment. I hope the whole is written in the true, ſincere ſpirit of a perſon awakened by a miracle of mercy, unto a deep ſenſe of his folly, guilt, and danger, and is deſirous, above all things, to give God the whole glory of ſo gracious a change, and to ſhew the various ſteps by which his Divine Providence brought it about. The whole of the ac-

count

count contains fourteen pages of Preface, and about ninety-three more of the ſaid relation, written in my own hand with a proper title, and will be found in the deep drawer on the right hand of my white cabinet. However, if the obſcurity I have lived in, during ſuch a ſeries of years, ſhould make it needleſs to revive a thing in all likelihood ſo long ſince forgot, I cannot but wiſh, that ſo much of it was publiſhed in ſome weekly paper, as might inform the world, eſpecially thoſe who have ſtill by them the above-mentioned fabulous account of the Iſland of Formoſa, &c. that I have long ſince owned, both in converſation and in print, that it was no other than a mere forgery of my own deviſing, a ſcandalous impoſition on the public, and ſuch, as I think myſelf bound to beg God and the world pardon for writing, and have been long ſince, as I am to this day, and ſhall be as long as I live, heartily ſorry for, and aſhamed of.

Theſe I do hereby ſolemnly declare and teſtify to be my laſt Will and Teſtament; and in witneſs thereof have thereto ſet my name, on the 23d day of April, in the year of our Lord 1752, O. S. and in the 73d year of my age.

G. Pſalmanazar.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of G. Pſalmanazar, of Ironmonger-Row, in the Pariſh of St. Luke, Middleſex, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to take him out of this world unto himſelf.

January 1, 1762, being the day of the Circumciſion of our divine Lord, then, bleſſed be God, quite ſound in my mind, though weak in my body, I do ratify and confirm the above particulars of my laſt Will made.

PREFACE.

AS the deſign of my leaving the following Memoirs, is at once to undeceive the world with reſpect to that vile and romantic account I formerly gave of myſelf, and of the iſland of Formoſa, and to make all the amends in my power for that ſhameful impoſition on the public, by leaving behind me this faithful narrative of myſelf, and of the remarkable accidents of my wretched life that led me to it, as well as of thoſe that deterred me from perſiſting in it; it will not be improper here to premiſe ſome of the chief motives that determined me to write the follow ſheets, to be printed after my death.

The religious education I had happily received during my tender years, had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon my mind, that, though it did not prove ſufficient to preſerve me from being unwarily and gradually hurried, by my own ſtrong paſſion, into that ſcandalous piece of forgery; yet it never failed of making me condemn myſelf, in my more ſerious hours, for every ſtep I took towards it; but more particularly for the

the laſt and moſt vile ſcene of all, my pretended converſion from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, and the abominable means I was forced to uſe in order to make it gain credit in the world; ſo that I laboured ever after under frequent and bitter remorſes and ſtings of conſcience, at the reflection of the great load of guilt into which I had ſuffered my youthful and unthinking vanity to hurry me.

And ſo much the more deep was my ſenſe of it, as I found my unhappy condition become ſo very difficult, and in ſome meaſure deſperate, ſeeing nothing could effectually extricate me from it but a public acknowledgment of one of the vileſt and moſt odious impoſtures that youth and raſhneſs could be guilty of, which I could not poſſibly have made, without expoſing myſelf to ſhame and danger, and my friends to the deepeſt mortification and diſpleaſure, and turning their undeſerved care and concern for me into the juſteſt abhorrence and deteſtation of me.

Under theſe pungent reflections, which were, however, but too often ſmothered by various carnal conſiderations, and the violent hurry of my paſſions, I was not without ſome hopes, that the ſame divine goodneſs, which had not ſuffered me to harden into an utter inſenſibility of my guilt, might, in his

his own good time, enable me to ſurmount all the dreadful difficulties which my carnal mind laid in my way, and finiſh that good work, which my remorſe gave me cauſe to hope was begun by his undeſerved grace in me. I was not, however, without ſome apprehenſions from a ſenſe of my extreme guilt, leſt that, which I cheriſhed under the notion of hope, ſhould prove only a vain and ill-grounded preſumption, at leaſt I began to fear I had reaſon to think it ſo, whilſt I continued inactive, and depended merely upon a few faint wiſhes and prayers, inſtead of making ſome ſtrong reſolutions and efforts, which might aſſure me of the divine grace co-operating with them.

In this fluctuating and wretched uncertainty I continued ſome years, not knowing which way to begin or go about the arduous and dreaded taſk, when a grievous and lingering fit of illneſs did, in ſome meaſure, hurry me to it, and made me determine immediately to ſet pen to paper, and employ all the time my diſtemper would allow me, to undo, as much as was in my power, all the miſchief I had done, by leaving behind me a faithful account of every thing I could recollect, and that had been inſtrumental to ſo fatal and long a train of miſcarriages, in order to ſet the whole impoſture in ſo true a light, that no part

of

of the ſhame may fall on the guiltleſs, but on the guilty; and that is chiefly on myſelf.

I ſet about it accordingly, and if I did not begin ſo neceſſary and laudable a work, till driven as it were to it by pain and ſickneſs, by the fear of death, and of the divine diſpleaſure, I hope it will be ſo far from leſſening the credit of the following narrative, that it will rather add weight to it, ſeeing no time or circumſtances can be more apt to inſpire a man with the deepeſt ſerioufneſs and ſincerity, than thoſe I was in, when I wrote the moſt conſiderable and mortifying part of it.

I ſhall therefore only add, that my diſtemper was a lingering every-other-day ague, which laſted me about ſix weeks, and that being then in a ſweet place of retirement in the country, at a very good friend's houſe, and taken ſufficient care of in all other reſpects, I had all the time and opportunity I could wiſh for, joined with the propereſt diſpoſition of mind for ſuch a taſk, ſo that through God's bleſſing I was enabled to bring down the ſhameful account of my former unfortunate life through the moſt ſhocking and impious ſcenes of it, to my arrival into England without any interruption, and I hope in God with that ſincerity and ſerioufneſs as ſuch a relation could require,

and

and my bad ſtate of health could inſpire me with, ſtill taking care before all things to implore the divine aſſiſtance of the great ſearcher of all hearts every time I ſat down to write, that he would direct me to go through the arduous taſk with ſuch a due regard to truth, whatever ſhame reflected on me, as might in all reſpects redound to his glory, and entitle me to his pardon and mercy; and to him I give all the praiſe, for having enabled me not only to go on ſo far with the wiſhed-for work during my retreat there, but to reſume it ſince at proper times, till I had brought it to the deſired concluſion.

For being, ſoon after my recovery, obliged to return to London, and engaged in a work, which neceſſarily took up too much of my time and thoughts, to permit me to go on with this, in the ſame regular manner I had done in the country (though ſtill reſolved by God's aſſiſtance to go through with it) I determined to ſet apart an hour at leaſt every Wedneſday and Friday to reviſe what I had wrote, and to continue the narrative as my memory ſerved, not doubting but the ſolemnity of the faſt, joined to the prayers and other meditations I had appropriated for theſe two days, in the method of devotion I was through God's bleſſing entered into, would prove effectual means to obtain that ſpirit of ſincerity and ſerioufneſs which

I earneſtly

I earneſtly wiſhed might go through the remainder, as I was conſcious it had done in the former part, whilſt I laboured under my illneſs.

I went on accordingly for ſome time with it, till the other buſineſs I had in hand, and ſome other avocations, as well as ſometimes an indiſpoſition of the mind, unhinged me from my method oftener than I wiſhed; for at ſuch times I found myſelf ſo unfit to purſue it, that I plainly ſaw it was better to diſcontinue it till I could recover my former frame. This occaſioned ſometimes an intermiſſion of two or more weeks as to the writing part, though the matter was ſtill ſo preſſing on my mind, that it only gave me an opportunity, either of recollecting ſome things I had omitted, or of gathering freſh materials for the ſequel.

But as my aim was only to give an account of what either chiefly hurried me on through ſuch a long train of the moſt unaccountable follies and vanities, or of what brought me to a ſenſe and abhorrence of them, I have omitted a great number of the former, as rather apt to diſguſt than entertain or inform a ſober reader, and confined myſelf to the latter, as the more likely to prove inſtructive and uſeful to him. And I ſhall not be very ſolicitous what judgment thoſe will paſs on this narrative, who are ſtrangers to religion and

and the various ways of the Divine Providence in reclaiming ſinners, firſt by driving, and then drawing them to himſelf, provided I can acquit myſelf to my own conſcience that I have taken all poſſible care to write it with that ſincerity and faithfulneſs that I would wiſh it to be done at my laſt moments, and with no other view than that of making ſuch a full and ample acknowledgment of my great folly and guilt, as my conſcience told me I ought to do for having ſo long and ſo ſhamefully impoſed upon the world, as well as of God's ſingular goodneſs which inſpired me with the deſign, and hath enabled me to go through it in the manner I have done.

The reaſons of my not chuſing to have it publiſhed during my life, beſides thoſe already hinted, will be ſeen in the ſequel, and I hope will be thought ſolid and ſatisfactory, eſpecially as it hath given me an opportutunity of continuing the latter (and as I hope in God) the much better part of my life, and of adding to it ſeveral uſeful particulars, which the reader will find there, ſuch as my eaſy and expeditious method of ſtudying, and attaining to a fuller knowledge of the Hebrew tongue; ſundry curious and inſtructive obſervations relating to ſome of the works I have been engaged in, in the learned way, particularly in that long and laborious

laborious one of the Univerſal Hiſtory, of the deſign, beginning, and purſuit, together with the difficulties, miſcarriages, faults, and other matters relating to both editions of it; and I have been the better able to give ſuch an account of the whole as may be of uſe to the public, eſpecially to the purchaſers, as I have been concerned in it from the beginning.

The reader will likewiſe find the latter part of this narrative interſperſed with many other particular accidents which have happily contributed not only to keep me ſteady in my reſolutions and change of life, but which have likewiſe inſenſibly led me into a more regular way of thinking, and acting; and, as true repentance begins in the change of the heart, and ends at the reformation of the ſinner's life, I may humbly hope that I have not been negligent in finding out and uſing the moſt effectual helps and means, nor failed of the divine bleſſing on them, which are promiſed to all ſincere penitents. Though the fear I was in, leſt too particular an account of them ſhould be deemed, by the cenſorious, as oſtentatious and phariſaical, hath obliged me to conceal a great number of them, which might perhaps have otherwiſe proved very encouraging to people in my condition; not doubting but to thoſe who are ſincere in their repentance and reſolutions,

ſolutions, the ſame Divine Providence will ſuppeditate all the neceſſary helps and directions as their caſe requires, even as it hath graciouſly done to me.

All I would add, by way of encouragement to perſons in my unhappy circumſtances (and worſe or more dangerous no man could hardly be in than I was) is not to let the greatneſs of their guilt, or the difficulties of the duties of repentance, deter, but rather invite them to the throne of mercy, through the merits of our Divine Redeemer; for how dark and gloomy ſoever the proſpect of ſo extraordinary a change may appear at firſt, as every thing doth to thoſe that are fled from the broad ſun-ſhine into ſome dark place; yet thoſe thick and diſcouraging miſts will gradually diſappear, and every object, that at firſt raiſed our fears, will grow more hopeful and comfortable, when we call to mind that there is mercy ſufficient in God, merits enough in Chriſt, power more than ſufficient in the Divine Spirit, room enough in heaven, ſcope enough in the evangelical promiſes, and the moſt endearing invitations in the Goſpel, to bring the greateſt ſinners to God, of infinite mercy and compaſſion, ſo that there can be thenceforth no condemnation to them that, with faith and repentance, apply to him for pardon and grace through the merits of his ever-bleſſed Son,

and uſe all proper means and helps to render himſelf a fit object of it.

We muſt not however ſuppoſe that the bleſſed effects of ſuch a repentance will be ſo ſoon felt by us as we could wiſh, or that the duties of ſelf-denial, ſelf-abhorrence, faſting, ſolitude, meditation, ſelf-examination, &c. will become eaſy and delightful as ſoon as we are entered into a religious regimen: we muſt, on the contrary, expect them to appear difficult and gloomy at the beginning, in order to excite our faith and reliance on the Divine aſſiſtance, which draws us not with an irreſiſtible force, but with the cords of men, and the bands of love (Hoſ. xi. 4.) We muſt likewiſe expect to meet with frequent foils and backſlidings in order to make us more diligent and watchful, more ſenſible of our own weakneſs, and more intent on that help which comes from above. By this means, we ſhall likewiſe be happily preſerved from that pride and preſumption, which is but too apt to inſinuate itſelf into the minds of new converts; for experience plainly ſhews, that thoſe two dangerous vices will be apt to ſpring, not only out of our ſins and paſſions, but likewiſe out of our very virtues and graces, if not duly kept down, by the ſenſe or experience of our own infirmities and impotence.

It was an excellent caution of a pious clergyman; "Don't preſume; you are not yet "come to a ſtate of Chriſtian perfection: "don't deſpair; you are in the way to it." So that whatever difficulties or diſcouragements we may meet with in our progreſs, how ſhort ſoever we may come of our duty, or whatever frailties, or even vices we may ſtill be prone to, which may either divert or retard our ſpeed, we may ſtill comfort ourſelves with the hopes, that we are in a way of growing better, and that the uſe of thoſe means hath not only preſerved us in a great meaſure from growing a great deal worſe, but enabled us to riſe after every fall, if it hath not ſometimes made even thoſe falls rebound to a greater heighth of grace, by teaching us, from every ſuch ſtep, to tread more ſure for the future; and what a comfortable proſpect muſt this yield to a man that hath made any progreſs in this happy way, to ſee God's ſtrength magnified in his own weakneſs, eſpecially when he adds thereto this bliſsful conſideration; that the ſame all-meritorious blood which was ſhed to expatiate all his wilful, if truly repented, tranſgreſſions, will much more effectually atone for all his involuntary defects?

Thus much I thought incumbent on me to ſay on this head, becauſe whatever our freethinkers may boaſt of the ſufficient power

of reaſon to reclaim a man from a long vicious courſe, from the prevalency of evil habits and conſtitutional vices, whatever powerful influence they may aſcribe to the notion of eternal rectitude, &c. to reduce a man that hath deflected ſo wide and far from it, without any of thoſe ſupernatural helps abovementioned; yet I am well aſſured, that the former, without the latter, would have proved (to me at leaſt, if not to any man in my condition) rather a determent than an effectual means; for what hopes or likelihood could there be that a wretch, who had, by his impetuous paſſion, been hurried into the commiſſion of ſuch a ſeries of impieties againſt his own reaſon and conſcience, ſhould ever be able to extricate himſelf from ſuch a ſlaviſh ſtate by his own baſe, natural power?

What efficacious help could he expect from his own reaſoning faculties, which, however cried up by others, he had found, by ſad experience, ſo weak and impotent, that the moſt they could do for him, was to make him condemn himſelf, without being able to rectify or reſiſt the violent impulſes of his predominant vice? Had, indeed, his knowledge of mankind furniſhed him with any remarkable inſtance of the prevalence of reaſon above a favourite vice, it might have given him ſome encouragement; but when he

he ſees, on the contrary, that theſe ſtrenuous deſpiſers of all ſupernatural helps, equally enſlaved to ſome favourite paſſion, and only differing from him perhaps in degree; the moſt he could expect his reaſon to do for him, would be to keep his own under ſome reſtraint and decorum, till time and indulgence had quite exhauſted them.

But what poor encouragement is this to one in my dangerous caſe? how inconſiderable the change or remorſe? what poor ſatisfaction to the world for ſo vile an impoſition, and what likelihood that it would procure a pardon from an offended God, or calm the ſtings of a wounded conſcience? And how much happier was it for me that I was directed to look up for and depend on a ſuperior aſſiſtance, and inſtead of truſting to ſuch a broken reed as my reaſon and ſtrength, to apply myſelf to that Supreme Being, whoſe grace alone could work ſuch an extraordinary change in the heart, give an effectual bleſſing on my weak efforts, and keep me ſteady in thoſe reſolutions which he had inſpired me with, as well as in the uſe of thoſe means he hath provided and preſcribed to us!

I gladly repeat it, that nothing leſs than the hopes of his promiſed grace could have induced me to endeavour after it, and nothing but a full reliance on the merits of a

Divine Interceſſor could have invited me to cry to him for pardon and acceptance; and, on the other hand, nothing but the obtaining it could have ſupported me under my doubts and fears, my difficulties and diſcouragements, nor enable me to perſevere in, and nothing leſs than the continuance and increaſe of it could have brought a work of ſuch extraordinary and undeſerved mercy to perfection.

I cannot therefore but think it the greateſt injury that can be done, to perſons who have unhappily ſwerved from the paths of virtue and religion, to make them depend ſolely on the ſtrength of their rational faculties for an effectual change, and to inſpire them with a diſregard for the more powerful means and motives which the Goſpel offers to them, and which, upon experience, will be found the only ones that can bring it about. And may what I have here ſaid inſpire every awakened ſinner, (who hath tried in vain the ſucceſs of the former) with the more comfortable hope and ſtedfaſt confidence, in the never failing efficacy of the latter.

Having ſaid thus much on the ſubject of the divine grace offered to us in the Goſpel, it will doubtleſs be expected that I ſhould give ſome farther account of my private belief ſo far as relates to the controverſy between

tween the church of Rome, in which I was educated, and that of England, in the communion of which I have lived, ever ſince my coming into England. And here I muſt confeſs, to my very great ſhame, that though I did for ſeveral years profeſs myſelf a zealous member of the latter, yet the prejudices of my education, and the general courſe of my ſtudies, did ſtill ſtrongly incline me in favour of the former; inſomuch that neither the many books of controverſy I had read on that ſubject, nor my frequent diſputes with prieſts and others of that communion (in which, however, I had ſtill vanity enough to give the preference to my arguments againſt it) could fix my wavering mind, much leſs could I be induced to think it ſo corrupt and dangerous, antichriſtian and idolatrous, as it was with ſo much warmth maintained to be by moſt proteſtant writers and preachers; inſomuch that this uncharitable zeal of theirs made me ſtill more doubtful, whether the reaſons they urged were ſufficient to juſtify their ſeparation from it.

I was indeed ſincerely perſuaded, from all that I had read or heard, that the church of England was by far the beſt and ſafeſt of all the proteſtant churches; but that it was really more ſo than that of Rome, I was far enough from being ſatisfied in my mind;

ſo that there was almoſt as little ſincerity in my pretended zeal for and conſtant communion with it, as in my pretended converſion to it: the truth of it is, that I was too young and heedleſs, vain and conceited, to lie open to conviction, and that I read and heard the arguments on both ſides, rather to fill my head than to rectify my heart, or fix my belief; ſo that I muſt confeſs that I acted at that time a very ſhameful and inſincere part, in the preference I ſo ſtrenuouſly gave to the one above the other, which, though ever ſo juſtly deſerved, did not appear then in that light to me.

In this careleſs, though impious and abominable, ſuſpence I continued ſome years (which, upon the whole, was but of a piece with the other and more flagrant part of my impoſture) till I came to read a treatiſe, intituled, THE CASE STATED BETWEEN A NOBLEMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ROME, AND A GENTLEMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, in which I thought I found the controverſy fully and clearly decided in favour of the latter. And I gave heed to the arguments on both ſides, not only as they appeared to me to be ſtated with the greateſt clearneſs and impartiality, but as I had been long acquainted with Mr. Charles Leſley, the reputed author of that book, who was univerſally allowed to be one of the

the learnedeſt men in that controverſy, and had moreover given the ſtrongeſt proofs of his probity and ſincerity, as well as of his capacity and unbiaſſed judgment; of all which I was ſo fully appriſed, that no book that I had read did ever contribute ſo much, if not to fix my wavering mind, yet at leaſt to make me think more ſeriouſly on the ſubject, and to give myſelf up to a freſh and more cloſe application to that controverſy, and the reading of all the beſt authors who had, or ſhould afterwards write on either ſide; for I doubted not but we ſhould ſoon hear of one or more anſwers from ſome of the beſt pens from that ſide, againſt it. However, though I never could learn of any that was made to it, it did not divert me from my purpoſe. And indeed I found myſelf ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the author, that I had reaſon to fear leſt the impreſſion which his book had made upon my mind, ſhould be owing to that, rather than to the validity of his arguments, until I had read over afreſh all that had been urged in favour of the oppoſite ſide. But here again, though I went over them with the greateſt attention and ſincerity, I found the diſpute ſo ſtrangely managed, and clogged with ſuch elaborate learning and ſophiſtry, ſuch controverted quotations from the Scriptures and ancient fathers, ſuch unchriſtian

chriſtian charges of forgery, and perverting the ſenſe of thoſe authors, and other uncharitable language, as rather bewildered than convinced my mind; ſo that the only fruit I reaped from all my reading (beſides a ſtrong prejudice againſt thoſe of the Romiſh ſide, whom I obſerved to deal moſt in that unfair way of diſputing) was, that there could be no ſafety in truſting to my own judgment in a matter of ſuch vaſt concern; and that it was next to impoſſible for men, frail as we are, and warped by our own paſſions and prejudices, to wade through ſuch ſtormy ſeas of controverſy, without an extraordinary aſſiſtance from the fountain of all light and truth. I have accordingly made it my conſtant care ever ſince, that is, for above theſe twenty-five years, to apply myſelf fervently, and to depend wholly upon that divine guide for a deliverance from all errors of faith and practice, and for ſuch an increaſe of his light and grace as may confirm me in the belief of all his ſaving truths, obedience to all his commands, ſincere communion with his holy catholic church, and a tender and charitable concern for all thoſe who have ſwerved from it. To theſe petitions (which I conſtantly offered up to God, not only morning and night for a long ſeries of years, but in a more copious and fuller form, ſuitable to my own exi-

gence,

gence, on more ſolemn, that is, on faſt and feſtival days) I hope is owing, that inward ſatisfaction which I have ſince been bleſſed with, in my more ſteady and ſincere communion with the church of England, and in the preference I now give it to all other churches; and, as I hope in God, without the leaſt breach of charity to any of the reſt. And indeed by all that I have read, or been able to judge, I have been more and more convinced that theirs and ours are all in an imperfect ſtate, though ſome more than others, and that they are like to continue ſo till the riſing again of the ſun of righteouſneſs upon us, whoſe brightneſs will then enlighten at once both hemiſpheres, and who will then not only reform whatever is amiſs in his myſtical body, but bring the Jews, Turks, and Heathen into it: till then we can only in charity bewail whatever errors we ſee in them, either in faith or practice, and pray to God to reform them in his own good time, and to be merciful to thoſe whoſe hearts are ſincere towards him, whatever involuntary miſtakes they may labour under.

Infallibility in the church were a bleſſing as much to be wiſhed for in this uncertain ſtate, as it is falſly challenged by the church of Rome; but ſince reaſon and experience ſhew it to be denied to us, and many ſincere members

members of that church do privately bewail the errors that are crept into it, though loath to own them a ſufficient cauſe for our ſeparation from it, it highly becomes us all to make the beſt uſe of that guide which God hath given us, viz. his divine revealed Will and Word, without breaking the bond of Charity with thoſe who interpret it in a different way from us: for though, in that reſpect, we may juſtly enough acknowledge in the words of our church's confeſſion, that "we have all," more or leſs, "erred "and ſtrayed like loſt ſheep," and that perhaps chiefly through our "following too "much the devices and deſires of our hearts;" yet, as God is the only judge how far every man is faulty in that reſpect, ſhould we not be very careful to paſs ſuch a favourable judgment on them, as may entitle us to the ſame indulgence from the judge of all hearts? Should it not at leaſt (ſeeing we are all alike fallible, and ſtand in need of the ſame charitable allowance) make us exceeding fearful how we do, by our anathemas and other unchriſtian denunciations againſt thoſe that differ from us, expoſe ourſelves to the ſame ſevere ſentence, and meet with the ſame meaſure at the laſt day, as we have ſo freely dealt unto them? This uncharitable condemning ſpirit, which hath ſo long reigned among chriſtians of all denominations, I

have

have long ſince looked upon as the moſt dangerous error a man can fall into, as it is indeed the moſt open violation of the grand characteriſtic of the Goſpel.

I have been ready to ſhudder when I have heard ſome of our preachers inveigh, in that uncharitable way, againſt their Fellow-chriſtians, or even againſt our modern Free-thinkers and Deiſts. Some of them I have heard and read, who could not ſpeak or write of them without ridicule and deriſion, inſtead of that pity and concern which is due to perſons in that dangerous ſtate; and, for that reaſon, have always thought them the moſt unfit to teach others, who had all the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity to ſeek, and can allow themſelves to exult and droll over the errors and frailties of their fellow-creatures, which even common humanity forbids us to think of or mention without the utmoſt ſerioufneſs and compaſſion.

This uncharitable and untimely zeal, even in controverſies of the higheſt nature, doth ſtill more miſchief in another way, by magnifying and aggravating the differences between the contending ſides, which ſerves only to render them the more irreconcileable; whereas a true chriſtian ſpirit will, from a ſenſe of its own infirmity, rather chuſe to excuſe and palliate them, and will be extremely careful to ſoften and ſmooth

every

every thing that is offered in the oppoſition, in order to render it leſs irkſome and ineffectual.

Had our divine Lawgiver deſigned that we ſhould have all agreed in the main points of religion, or had he ſeen any thing ſo ſinful and dangerous in our diſagreement about it, his infinite wiſdom and goodneſs would, doubtleſs, either have given us greater helps and brighter faculties, or would have taken care to have his revelation made ſo plain and obvious, that none but the wilful and perverſe could have erred from it. In either of which caſes, where would there have been any room for that charitable and forbearing ſpirit which is the peculiar characteriſtic of Chriſt's true diſciples, and is ſo acceptable to him? not towards thoſe that agreed with us from the ſame motives we agreed with them; nor yet much leſs towards thoſe that differ from us, when it would have plainly appeared, that not their infirmity or ignorance, but their pride and perveſeneſs made them to do ſo. May we not therefore ſafely conclude, that God ſuffers us to continue in this imperfect and uncertain ſtate, and unavoidable diverſity of opinions, in order to give us an opportunity of exerciſing a virtue, which is of all others the moſt exalted and moſt acceptable to him,

him, as being the neareſt to its divine original.

God, who is emphatically ſtiledlove, and hath been, beyond all poſſible conception, diffuſive of it to us, hath, at the ſame time, aſſured us, that the beſt returns we can make to him for it, or he expects from us, is to make our own as extenſive as we can to all that bear his divine image: herein therefore is this moſt excellent virtue, this charitable ſpirit diſplayed in a manner moſt nearly reſembling his own, when (inſtead of treating thoſe that differ from us with contempt, ſourneſs, or impatience, which is baſe and ſelfiſh, or with ill language, opprobrious names, unjuſt reflections, curſes, and anathemas, which is truly diabolical) we think and look upon them with the ſame candor, benevolence, and compaſſionate concern, as we ſhould wiſh to be ſhewn to us were their caſe our own; when we make the moſt charitable allowances for their infirmities and miſtakes, and are ready to aſcribe their errors to the weakneſs of their underſtanding, wrong education, or any thing rather than to the perverſeneſs of their will; when, by our behaviour, our prayers, and good wiſhes, we ſtrive to convince them that all our endeavours to reclaim them from their errors, do really ſpring from our tender ſenſe of

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their danger, and from ſuch a ſincere and diſintereſted concern for their ſpiritual welfare, as no oppoſition or obſtinacy on their part ſhall be able to leſſen in the leaſt, becauſe that being a duty enjoined by God, we cannot in any caſe diſpenſe with it, without danger of incurring his diſpleaſure; and laſtly, when we can, in ſpight of all their obſtinacy or untowardneſs, make them ſenſible, by our words and deportment, that we wiſh their happineſs as heartily as ever: and that, after having tried our beſt efforts in vain, we heartily recommend them ſtill to that merciful God, whoſe equity and goodneſs will acquit and approve every man who conſcientiouſly ſeeks for, and endeavours after the beſt light, and is ready to obey it as far as he is able to obſerve it.

Could we once make this the aim and reſult of all our religious differences and diſputes, they would, inſtead of a bane, prove a ſtrong cement and ſupport to Chriſtianity; we might then differ one from another without breach of charity, as friends love one another, though of different tempers, complexions, &c. Our unbelievers would be ſo far from taking an advantage from them to cry it down, that they muſt be forced to admire and eſteem it for the bleſſed effects it produced in mens hearts and lives, how wide ſoever their judgments

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differed in other caſes; whereas, whilſt we make them the ſad occaſion of faction and ſtrife, of ſelfiſhneſs and malignity, or of unreaſonable impoſitions on the faith and practice, of ſlander, hatred, perſecution, &c. it can hardly be expected that our ſceptics and infidels will be candid or ingenuous enough to perceive, or at leaſt to own, that all this unchriſtian behaviour is diametrically oppoſite to the Goſpel.

It is indeed much to be wiſhed, that ſome of the ancient fathers had not mingled ſo much of this antichriſtian ſpirit with their otherwiſe pious and learned writings, and had not done, as the great St. Jerome owns himſelf, in his epiſtle to Pammachius, to have done againſt Jovinian, that he had leſs regarded what was exactly to have been urged againſt him, than what might be laid as a charge againſt him. How much of our now reigning ſcepticiſm and infidelity may have been owing to ſuch an unchriſtian ſpirit, propagated and improved as it hath been in ſubſequent ages, and how much ſuch uncharitable writers and preachers of controverſy will have to anſwer for it at the laſt day, I will not preſume to determine; but thus much I may venture to infer from it, that thoſe Boanerges did chuſe the moſt unlikely means of recommending Chriſtianity to the unbelieving part of the world,

(if ſuch was their real deſign) when they ſtrove to propagate it in a way ſo diametrically oppoſite to the meek and benevolent ſpirit of its divine author.

This ſingle conſideration, joined to the ſenſe had of the weakneſs of our underſtanding, and incapacity of judging in matters of ſo high a nature, hath long ago made me very careful of condemning or cenſuring any church or ſect for holding any tenets which my conſcience could not readily join in. We may indeed expoſe ourſelves to a ſeverer judgment, by paſſing too raſh or uncharitable a one on others, but can never run the ſame riſk by the moſt candid and favourable allowance we can make for them. And, after all, what have we to do to judge thoſe that differ from us, ſince both they and we muſt ſtand accountable to him only who is the unerring judge of all hearts?

I cannot forbear adding, that the almoſt unſurmountable difficulties I have found to come to the bottom of the greater part of our diſputed points, and the little certainty or ſatisfaction I have reaped from reading of moſt controverſies, clogged and diſguiſed as they are with ſophiſtry and endleſs ſubtilities, and managed with ſo little appearance of impartiality and charity, have made me ſuch a Pyrrhonian in polemic divinity, that I have not dared to allow myſelf the liberty of cenſuring

ſuring thoſe who held what I thought an error in faith or practice, or even to pronounce it to be ſuch, though I have been wanting in neither zeal nor courage to oppoſe any ſuch on all proper occaſions, and to give the beſt reaſon I could for my diſſenting from them; and I much queſtion whether, in the imperfect and uncertain ſtate we are in, reaſon or religion will permit us, much leſs require of us, to proceed farther; and whether a more poſitive or categorical declaration doth not argue ſomething worſe than prepoſſeſſion and narrowneſs of mind, and will not be liable to be condemned as an unchriſtian warp of the will.

The tranſubſtantiation of the church of Rome, is a doctrine that appears the moſt ſhocking to ſenſe and reaſon. That of abſolute predeſtination among the greater part of the reformed churches, appears not only the moſt oppoſite to the divine attributes of love, goodneſs, juſtice, &c. but to ſtrike at the root of the Chriſtian religion, which is founded on the love of God; for how is it poſſible for a man to look upon ſo arbitrary a being as that doctrine repreſents him, but with the utmoſt awe and dread, even though he was ever ſo fully perſuaded that himſelf was one of the predeſtinate? and how much more ſo the more he is re-

moved from ſuch a perſuaſion? Nevertheleſs, as I have all poſſible reaſon to believe that there are myriads of men of learning and probity who behold thoſe two doctrines in a quite different light, and not only hold them as neceſſary articles of their faith, but are ready to condemn all that do not, why ſhould I be ſo partial to my own judgment, as to think it more infallible than theirs, or venture to paſs the ſame uncharitable ſentence on them for believing, which I blame them in my conſcience for pronouncing againſt me for not believing them?

With what juſtice can I charge the former with idolatry for worſhipping what they ſincerely believe to be the real body of our divine and adorable Redeemer? Or how can I tax the latter with impiety for profeſſing a doctrine, which I ought in charity to think they would abhor, did it appear to them as derogatory of God's goodneſs and juſtice, as it doth to me, eſpecially as the belief of both is founded on their implicit belief (and conſequently, and at the worſt, on a miſtaken interpretation) of the Holy Scripture?

Is it not therefore more ſafe and more chriſtian for me to content myſelf with giving my reaſons in the ſtrongeſt manner I am able, for my diſſent from them, than to charge them, even in thought, with wilfully perverting the word of God, and with all the

the guilt and infamy of impoſing damnable errors, under pain of damnation? It may be indeed truly ſaid, that this kind of retaliation is what not only reigns too much in moſt chriſtian churches, even to this day, but hath proved the frequent occaſion of the moſt horrid perſecutions and anti-chriſtian cruelties: But is it not therefore the more to be avoided and abhorred by all true Chriſtians for the miſchief it hath done, and is ſtill able to do, to the Goſpel, and for the ſcandal it reflects on the beſt religion in the world?

Ought it not to be a matter of the deepeſt grief and concern to a good Chriſtian, to ſee the moſt gracious deſigns of heaven towards mankind thus miſerably obſtructed and fruſtrated, and ſo great a part of mankind deprived of the ineſtimable benefits of it, by an untimely zeal, the moſt oppoſite to the ſpirit of our meek and divine Redeemer, and the moſt condemned, both by his precepts and example? Doth not right reaſon itſelf, as well as our natural ſelf-love, tell every man how careful he ought to be not to be miſtaken in a matter of ſuch infinite concern? And ſuppoſe we have ever ſo much reaſon to think thoſe that differ from us are really ſo, muſt we therefore take upon us to cenſure and condemn, to anathematize and perſecute them, whom reaſon and cha-

rity ſhould rather incline us to pity and pray for, whether their error be wilful or involuntary, which can only be known to God?

I have choſen to inſtance in the doctrines of tranſubſtantiation and predeſtination, as they appear the moſt ſhocking and antiſcriptural to every one, except thoſe who believe them; nevertheleſs, from a ſenſe of my fallibility, as well as of the weakneſs of human reaſon, I ſhould be very fearful of pronouncing them abſolutely falſe (much leſs to call them anti-chriſtian, damnable, &c.) their appearing ſo to me is a ſufficient reaſon for my declaring my diſſent from them, but doth not authorize me to pronounce thoſe that believe them to be guilty before God for ſo doing.

Were I to indulge myſelf in the liberty of cenſuring or condemning any chriſtian church, for any thing either in their faith or practice, it would be that uncharitable authority they aſſume of condemning, as hereticks, &c. all thoſe who cannot believe as they do.

And yet I own it highly neceſſary that there ſhould be, in every particular church (ſince it is not given to us in this imperfect ſtate to be thus happily united in our belief) a ſtated rule of faith, a ſummary of what is to be principally believed and practiſed by all its members; but then care ſhould be taken

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not to multiply thoſe articles beyond what is abſolutely neceſſary, nor yet to impoſe them with any ſuch damnatory clauſes againſt recuſants as are commonly uſed by moſt churches, to the great detriment and diſcredit of Chriſtianity, and the intimidating and bewildering the ſincere and well-meaning Chriſtians, who are incapable of judging of the merit of thoſe controverſies, and being commonly by far the moſt numerous, are entitled to a more charitable and tender regard than to be obliged blindly to believe and act as their church preſcribes, or be liable to be reſcinded from it.

Even in thoſe articles wherein our church is obliged to declare its diſſent from any of the tenets of others, methinks they might and ſhould in charity content themſelves with giving their reaſons, in the plaineſt and conciſeſt manner, for their diſſent, and with ſuch impartial candor and tenderneſs, as ſhould rather inſpire its members with pity and concern for, than prejudice and hatred againſt, thoſe that differ from them: and, above all things, they ſhould all be exceedingly fearful of charging their antagoniſts, and their tenets, with a greater degree of guilt and danger than is conſiſtent with truth, and with that ſpirit which condemns and abhors all miſrepreſentation and opprobrious language as the moſt deſtructive, next to ill

offices or perſecution, of all errors that a Chriſtian can fall into.

It is plainly the want of this meek chriſtian ſpirit, that makes men to intermix ſo much deadly acrimony in all their diſputes and differences, as ſerves only to deſtroy the ſmall ſparks of charity that are left among us. But where the love of Chriſt unites our hearts in the bonds of peace and mutual benevolence, no difference in religion, however greatly miſrepreſented or aggravated by untimely zeal, will ever be able to diſſolve the tye, or create the leaſt diſagreement or indifference in their affections.

There are many things in the Greek, and Roman church, in that of Geneva, and Augſburgh, &c. which my conſcience will not permit me to join with; but which I, at the ſame time, firmly hope and believe will not be laid to their charge by the merciful ſearcher of all hearts, who rather pities than puniſhes the involuntary errors of his frail creatures: and were there none bettter to be found in the chriſtian world than thoſe, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to join communion with that which appeared to me the freeſt from them, rather than to ſtand by myſelf, and be deprived of the benefit of church-fellowſhip, provided nothing was impoſed upon me by it that my conſcience thought ſinful. I look upon them

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all (excepting ſuch as deny the fundamental articles of Chriſtianity, eſpecially the merits and mediation of our divine Redeemer) as ſo many branches of Chriſt's church; and tho' ſome are more corrupted than others, yet all united into one body, of which he himſelf is the ſupreme head and governor, and is acknowledged by them as ſuch.

However, I own that the church of England hath, in all reſpects, appeared to me, ever ſince I have made myſelf more ſeriouſly acquainted with its faith and practice, the beſt reformed and freeſt from every thing that could reſtrain me from her communion, eſpecially as I am a layman: for with reſpect to her clergy, I think ſome of the injunctions ſhe lays them under to be ſuch as I could by no means ſubmit to, and which the more conſcientious among them would, I believe, be glad to be freed from, if it could be done conſiſtently with the honour and ſafety of its eſtabliſhment. I am far from intending by this to caſt any blemiſh on the reverend order, or on the firſt reformers; but as it hath given ſo much occaſion for cavil and diſreſpectful reflections againſt both, I could heartily wiſh to ſee it effectually removed. In other reſpects, I have long ſince had a vaſt eſteem and regard for her liturgy, ſacraments, ordination, and other ordinances, that it hath been, and is ſtill, a matter of regret

gret to me, whenever buſineſs or any other impediment hath deprived me of the benefit of them.

Her epiſcopacy, though ſo much diſregarded by other proteſtant churches, and cried down, as invalid, by that of Rome, hath long ago been looked upon by me, not only as a ſingular bleſſing, but as a neceſſary conſtituent of a church, the divine inſtitution of which hath been, in my opinion, as fully proved againſt the former, as the validity of its ordination hath againſt the latter; and all I have to wiſh for her ſake is, that ſhe was as happy in the choice, appointment, and promotion of her prelates; and that the Congès Delire were ſomething more than a phraſe without meaning: however, that needs not to debar us, in this imperfect ſtate, from enjoying the benefits of their ſacred function to very good purpoſes; nor diſcourage us from wiſhing and praying for a reformation of thoſe abuſes which worldly politicians have introduced into it.

Moſt people indeed, who look upon the evil to lie in human nature itſelf, have little hopes to ſee any amendment to it, till we have a new heaven and a new earth, eſpecially as thoſe, in whoſe power the remedy is, are moſt intereſted to ſuppreſs it: But a good Chriſtian will look higher up than thoſe at the helm for ſo deſirable a change, ſince,

as I believe, we have much more reaſon to hope for it from the interpoſition of heaven, than any of the neighbouring churches which labour under the ſame difficulties. As for thoſe countries abroad, which have ſecularized their biſhopricks, &c. they will hardly charge our church with abuſing hers worſe than they have done theirs; ſo that, upon the whole, it appears in all reſpects to ſtand upon a better and more hopeful foot than any other I know, with all its imperfections and defects.

I cannot diſmiſs this point without taking ſome notice of a charge which ſome of our preſent Methodiſts have laid to it, viz. its having departed from ſome of its ancient doctrines, particularly thoſe of predeſtination and free-grace, or imputed righteouſneſs. With reſpect to the former, it doth not appear that the compilers of the ſeventeenth article ever deſigned to impoſe the belief of it as neceſſary to ſalvation, but only to define the term of predeſtination, as ſtrenuouſly maintained by the reformed churches of Geneva, Switzerland, Holland, &c. leaving it to the option of every one either to aſſent or diſſent from it: much leſs do they ſeem to have inſiſted upon the belief of it in that full and extenſive ſenſe (and including abſolute reprobation) in which the Supralapſarians explain it, which doctrine is now juſtly rejected

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by moſt divines and members of this church. Mr. Whitefield's charge of innovation is therefore unjuſt; and it is well known, that he did not think otherwiſe of it, till he was perſuaded into that opinion upon his going to preach in America: however, could it be ſuppoſed that the firſt reformers really deſigned it in that ſupralapſarian ſenſe, I ſhould have commended any ſynod who ſhould have ſince then ordered it to have been erazed, ſeeing the truth of a chriſtian doctrine is not founded on the opinion or authority of any men, but on the evidence of Holy Writ.

With reſpect to the other charge, viz. inherent and imputed righteouſneſs, it muſt be owned, that our ſermons and books of devotion ſeem rather to run ſo much in commendation of good works, as to lead people to lay a greater ſtreſs on the former than on the latter, and to confide more on their good deeds than on the merits of Chriſt, which is certainly a dangerous miſtake, ſince our hope of acceptance and ſalvation muſt be chiefly founded upon the latter, without which our beſt duties could never be acceptable from ſuch frail and ſinful creatures to a God of infinite holineſs.

It were therefore to be wiſhed, that our preachers and divines would take ſome more care to caution their hearers and readers, whenever they inſiſt on the neceſſity of good works,

works, againſt their putting their chief dependence on them, and to remind them, that the alone merits and interceſſion of our divine Redeemer can give them their ſaving efficacy. But though this laſt point is not ſo frequently inculcated and inſiſted upon as could be wiſhed, yet that it is always underſtood and implied, is certain, becauſe it always was, and is ſtill acknowledged to be a fundamental article of the church of England; ſo that it is unjuſt to charge it with having departed from it; and yet this is the common cry of theſe modern enthuſiaſts, who are every where denouncing damnation againſt all thoſe who inſiſt on or put any dependence on inherent righteouſneſs: but how unjuſtly and falſely, let the apoſtle St. Paul inform them, who expreſly tells us (1 Corinth. iii. 11—15.) that ſuch men ſhall be ſaved, though with great difficulty; or, as he expreſſes it, ſo as by fire, though not one of their works ſhould ſtand the fiery trial; for how precarious ſoever the ſuperſtructure be, whilſt Chriſt is the foundation, he cannot but be ſafe that builds his hopes upon it, whatever ſtraw, ſtubble, or other traſh he may intermix with it.

However, I do not doubt but this falſe alarm of the Methodiſts hath proved of ſome uſe to many Chriſtians, as I own it hath

hath to me, and hath awakened them into a better and humbler opinion of their inherent righteouſneſs, than they perhaps had before. As to my own particular, tho' I always depended ſolely on the merits of a crucified Redeemer for pardon and acceptance, and looked upon all our beſt ſervices to be deſtitute of the leaſt worth, but what they receive from him; yet I have been warned, by this late outcry, to put leſs ſtreſs and confidence in them, and to look upon them rather as the evidence of our ſincerity and ſalvation, than as the means or foundation of it, rather as our qualification for heaven (on which account we may ſafely wiſh, endeavour, and pray that we may more and more abound in them) than as things capable to give us any title to it, which nothing can do but the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt.

Thus much I thought incumbent on me to declare concerning my notions of religion in general, of the church of England in particular, and my reaſon for preferring her communion to all other. I hope they are all agreeable to the word of God, and that I have taken all poſſible care and pains to have them chiefly founded on that, by frequently reading and conſulting the ſacred volumes in their original, and uſing all proper helps, as commentators, paraphraſts,

phraſts, books of controverſy, &c. in order to come at their true meaning. But above all, my chief dependence hath been upon the guidance and aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, which, for a great number of years, I have never failed daily to implore, as I was truly ſenſible, how poor and inſignificant all other helps would be without it, towards the bringing us through the vaſt mazes of controverſy, which reign all over Chriſtendom, to the wiſhed-for haven and ſalvation, to which I earneſtly pray to God to bring every ſincere ſoul, that longs and ſtrives for it. I firmly rely on the ſame divine goodneſs to whom I owe ſo many mercies, and ſo wonderful a change, that if there be yet any thing erroneous or amiſs, either in my belief and practice, he will, in his own time, and by his all-ſufficient light and grace, enable me to rectify it, that I may have nothing left to do but to acknowledge and adore his infinite and undeſerved mercies to me, and particularly for having enabled me to ſee ſo much of my own weakneſs and inſufficiency, unworthineſs and miſery, as to put my whole truſt and confidence in his all-powerful grace and unbounded goodneſs, through the infinite merits of our bleſſed Redeemer.

Before I conclude this Preface, it will be likewiſe neceſſary for me to give ſome account

count of that vaſt quantity of laudanum I have been known to take for above theſe forty years, and my motives for ſo doing, in order to undeceive ſuch perſons as may have conceived too favourable an opinion of that dangerous drug, from any thing they may have heard me ſay, heard at ſecond-hand, or may have obſerved of the ſmall viſible hurt I have received from it, during ſo long and conſtant a uſe of it.

And firſt of all, as to the true occaſion of my taking it, whatever pretence I may heretofore have made for it, ſuch as its eaſing the pain of the gout, (which diſtemper, though I heretofore pretended to be often troubled with, yet I never was, nor had the leaſt ſymptom or tendency to in my conſtitution) or of its being a great help to ſtudy, a reviver of the ſpirits, and the like, which qualities it in ſome meaſure hath; yet my motive for taking it at firſt, and continuing it ſo long, was no other than my vanity and ſenſeleſs affectation of ſingularity; and as that was then my predominant paſſion, ſo I indulged it in this and many other ſuch extravagant ways, at any hazard, as the following ſheets will more fully ſhew.

Secondly, as to the quantity, though it never came up to that vaſt exceſs as I did then pretend; yet I own that I frequently took

took ſuch large doſes, by way of oſtentation, as muſt have proved detrimental, if not quite fatal, to any man that had had a leſs ſtrong and happy conſtitution than I was bleſſed with; and I have been very often ſurpriſed to find that I received ſo little prejudice from it. And this it was that emboldened me to take ſuch large and dangerous draughts of it, without the leaſt neceſſity or motive for it, but to be taken notice and talked of; inſomuch that I continued it during ſuch a number of years, that I was become a perfect ſlave to, and could not be eaſy without it, tho' I had for ſome time been ſenſible of the ill conſequences attending the conſtant uſe of it, eſpecially as often as I indulged my vanity with a larger doſe than uſual.

Thirdly, As to my vain pretence of having found an effectual way of ſtripping the opium of all its pernicious qualities, though it was true in part, and I had fallen upon a preparation of it (which was a kind of ſafe and uſeful improvement on that which Dr. Jones gives us in his MYSTERY OF OPIUM) by the help of ſome acids, particularly the juice of Seville oranges, which, mixed with ſome alcalies, raiſed a kind of ferment in the infuſion, by which ſome of the moſt viſcous and narcotic parts were either ſcummed off, or made to ſubſide; yet ſo far

was it from being ſo inoffenſive and beneficial, as I gave it out, that I had frequent occaſion to obſerve ſome of its ill effects in thoſe whom I unadviſedly perſuaded to uſe it in ſome proper caſes, as I thought, ſo that I was obliged to leave off preſcribing it to others; though, as to myſelf, I was a long while before I found any inconvenience in taking it, even in that large quantity; and I have great reaſon ſtill to think it leſs dangerous by far than either that of Dr. Sydenham's, or any infuſion exhibited by the apothecaries and common diſpenſaries.

However, when I began to feel the inconvenient effects of it, which was not till a good number of years uſing it, I thought it high time to leſſen the uſual doſe (which was then about ten or twelve tea ſpoonfuls morning and night, and very often more) as faſt as I conveniently could, and in about ſix month's time had reduced myſelf to half an ounce per day, and ſomewhat weaker than the common Sydenham. I ſtill continued decreaſing; but ſuch was my fooliſh vanity, that, to conceal my reduction, I added ſome other bitter tincture, eſpecially that of hierapicra, or ſome other ſuch corrective, among it, to appear as ſtill taking my uſual quantity.

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On the other hand, I found that this reduction, gradual as it was, could not be continued without ſome affecting and diſcouraging inconveniencies; ſuch as a great laſſitude and uneaſineſs of the mind, an indolence and incapacity for ſtudy, a diſlike to every thing I read or wrote, to ſolitude and application; all which made me apprehenſive, that if I did not ſlacken it, and go more warily on with it, I might bring myſelf into a greater evil than that which I endeavoured to ſhun, and fling myſelf at length into a kind of habitual torpor and inactivity, which might prove at leaſt as detrimental to me: to prevent which, I was forced to take a new method, and to inlarge or leſſen my doſe, according to the ſtate of health I was in, ſometimes according as the weather was more or leſs enlivening, or according as the courſe of my ſtudies required a greater or leſſer degree of Application. All this, however, was rather owing to my own natural indolence and want of reſolution to go on in ſpight of all thoſe inconveniencies, than to any danger there really was in the caſe, as I happily found reaſon afterwards to think; for when the Divine Providence was pleaſed to bleſs me with a contrary turn of mind, and to make me deteſt and abhor all

my former follies, and this among the reſt, to ſuch a degree, as to reſolve, by his aſſiſtance, upon a thorough change, I then found both the taſk, and all the inconveniencies attending it, to grow more and more eaſy; and as this reſolution was founded upon a much better principle than my former ones were, ſo it was attended with ſuch a bleſſing at my laſt ſtay at Oxford, anno —— from July to the latter end of September, by which time I had made a conſiderable progreſs in my reduction, that I had quite completed the conqueſt, and lived ſome weeks there without taking one drop, or even wiſhing for it, although neither then nor ſince was I without ſome employment which required a pretty cloſe application.

In this pleaſing ſtate, as I juſtly thought it, I continued for ſome months, when the ſeverity of the enſuing winter overturned all my meaſures, and forced me, though much againſt my will, to have recourſe to it again; neither could I think of any ſafer or more effectual remedy againſt that chilneſs of my blood, and lowneſs of ſpirits, which I laboured under through the exceſſive coldneſs of the ſeaſon. I reſolved, however, to reſume it in the ſmalleſt quantity that I could find would anſwer my end; that is, what was, as near as I could judge, equivalent to

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ten or twelve drops of Sydenham's, and with full intention to leave it off as ſoon as the warm weather returned, and had accordingly reduced myſelf to about half that quantity, though not without ſome difficulty, on account of a work I was ſtill engaged in, and the neceſſity we were under to keep time with the printers and publiſhers. Finding it at length ſo neceſſary and pleaſant, as well as ſafe and harmleſs, I reſolved to continue it, and have done ſo to this preſent time; that is, for ſeven or eight years, without the laſt inconvenience from it. On the contrary, I have reaſon to think that even that ſmall quantity, though ſcarce equivalent to twelve drops of Sydenham's, hath been of ſome ſervice to me to prevent that decay of ſpirits which old age, (being now drawing near my ſeventieth) a ſedentary life, and cloſe ſtudy, might otherwiſe probably have brought upon me: and it is to this ſmall doſe, which I take every night in a pint of very ſmall punch, as ſoon as I leave off writing, that I attribute, next to the bleſſing of God, that good ſhare of health I have hitherto enjoyed, and my having been able, for ſo many years, to go through the fatigues and applications of ſtudy, from ſeven in the morning to ſeven at night, preſerving ſtill a good appetite and digeſtion, a clear head, and tolerable flow of ſpirits,

and enjoying a ſound ſleep of ſix or ſeven hours, without indulging myſelf in any other liquors than tea all the day, and the above-mentioned quantity of punch, or ſomething equivalent to it at night; and as I have not opportunity for much exerciſe, I take care to live on the plaineſt diet at noon, and to obſerve the old adage at night,

Ut ſis nocte levis, ſit tibi cœna brevis.
To ſleep eaſy at night, let your ſupper be light.

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE PSALMANAZAR.

I CANNOT better begin this melancholy account of my former life, vile and abominable as it hath been, and blended with ſuch mixture of the moſt unaccountable pride, folly, and ſtupid villainy, in oppoſition to reaſon, religion, and all checks of conſcience, till almoſt to the thirtieth year of my age, than by humbly acknowledging the infinite mercy of God, not only in preſerving me ſo long from the many evils and diſaſters which my own wicked raſhneſs muſt elſe unavoidably have precipitated me into, as the ſequel will ſufficiently ſhew; but much more ſo in that gradual and viſible change which his grace wrought in me, by enabling me frequently to retroſpect with ſhame and remorſe on a life ſo baſely ſpent, to ſend up the moſt fervent wiſhes to heaven that I might at length break off from ſo ſhameful and wicked a courſe of the vileſt and moſt ſcandalous impoſture, that a wild and abandoned youth could be guilty of, and that I might but be bleſſed with ſuch a ſteady

reſolution as at once publickly to diſclaim all the lies and forgeries I had formerly publiſhed in that monſtrous romance, and at any rate or riſk to take the ſhame to myſelf, and make a free confeſſion of the whole impoſture. But I had not only my pride to combat, but the diſpleaſure which ſuch a declaration would give to all my friends, who being very honeſt and religious, could not but have taken it much at heart, and, perhaps, been expoſed to the cenſure of the world for their charitable opinion of me; to ſay nothing of the abhorrence they muſt have conceived againſt ſo deteſtable a cheat. As theſe therefore were ſuch powerful determents to a man wholly deſtitute of any laudable way of living, I could not expect that my earneſt wiſhes would be ſpeedily anſwered; and my only hope was, that the ſame gracious God, who had thus effectually awaked me to a ſenſe of my guilt and danger, would alſo, in his own time, hear thoſe prayers which himſelf had inſpired me to make, eſpecially, as upon a retroſpection of my paſt follies, I was apt to comfort myſelf with the thoughts, that the violence of my favourite paſſion, pride, could never have hurried me ſo irreſiſtibly through ſuch ſcenes of folly and danger, if there had not been ſome ſad flaw in my underſtanding,

ing, ſome unavoidable degree of madneſs in my temper, which might in ſome meaſure extenuate, if not wholly excuſe, the atrocious guilt it had involved me in; and the hope that it might ſtill be placed to that account, by a merciful Judge of all our thoughts and intents, of our frail and corrupt nature, joined to the ſtedfaſt confidence I had in the promiſes of the Goſpel, and in the infinite merits of a divine Saviour, preſerved me from deſpairing of mercy and pardon, of ſucceſs and bleſſing on thoſe happy beginnings, if cloſely and earneſtly purſued.

But as ſuch a hope, without a ſincere deſire of doing one's part, to the beſt of one's power, and according to the degree of aſſiſtance given from above, would rather deſerve the name of raſh and ſhameful preſumption; ſo the next ſtep I took, at leaſt in view, was to ſet about making all poſſible reparation to God and his church, and to the world, and my own conſcience, for the ſcandal which ſuch a vile piece of hypocriſy muſt have given to all, eſpecially to good men, and in ſpite of all reluctance from pride and ſelf-love, which the greater it was, would the more naturally lead one to the throne of mercy for a proportionable ſupply of Divine grace, and patiently to wait for it in God's own proper

proper time. I had not continued many months in this hopeful diſpoſition, before I perceived all thoſe difficulties and diſcouragements to vaniſh by degrees, but more eſpecially at the approach of a ſevere diſeaſe, though lingering, and the apprehenſions of death, which laſt, as it did not appear to be ſo near at hand, gave me room to hope I might have time ſufficient granted me in mercy, to go through this faithful narrative, and undeceive the world; ſo that if the Divine Providence did think fit to drive me to the writing of it by his afflicting hand, I hope it will rather add weight to the credit of it, ſeeing no time is fitter than this to inſpire a man with the deepeſt ſerioufneſs and ſincerity. But as to me, I ſtill more rely on the aſſiſtance of that ſpirit of truth, to whoſe ſpecial grace I am bound to aſcribe the abhorring ſenſe I had already conceived againſt my former guilt, as well as the earneſt deſire and reſolution of tranſmitting to the world ſuch an account of my paſt guilty life, as might wholly contradict and explode that falſe and impious one, which I had been induced to publiſh in the days of my abominable folly and vanity. Under that Divine Guide, therefore, I ſet myſelf immediately about it, and carried on daily, and with as much application as my

my diſeaſe (a very violent ague and fever) would permit, not doubting but the ſincerity which I reſolved, by God's aſſiſtance, ſhould reign through the whole, would make ſome amends for the lowneſs of ſtile, and other imperfections, which, conſidering my weakly condition both of mind and body, were in ſome meaſure unavoidable. Thus far I thought neceſſary to appriſe the reader concerning the (happy, I hope I have reaſon to call it) occaſion of my writing the following account, which in the name, and under the direction of that ſame God of truth, I now hope to live to ſee finiſhed, in order to be printed, if thought worthy of it, after my death; and I ſhall only add, that I am at this preſent time of writing (April 22, 1728) at a friend's houſe in the country, free from all ſtudy and buſineſs, or any other impediment, but what is cauſed by my diſtemper, and ſhall dedicate all the time I have to ſpare in the writing of it.

But here I hope I ſhall be excuſed from giving an account either of my real country or family, or any thing that might caſt a reflection upon either, it being but too common, though unjuſt, to cenſure them for the crimes of private perſons, for which reaſon I think myſelf obliged, out of reſpect to them, to conceal both. Out of Europe I was not born, nor educated, nor ever travelled;

travelled; but continued in ſome of the ſouthern parts of it till about the ſixteenth year of my age, when neceſſity obliged me in ſome meaſure to remove into more northern ones, though never farther northward than the Rhine in Germany, or Yorkſhire in England. And this I purpoſely mention, becauſe I have been heretofore ſuſpected to be a German, Swede or Dane by ſome; by others, an Engliſh or Scotchman, as their fancy led them, though I never ſaw Germany till I was ſixteen, nor England till about two or three years after. As for my parents and relations, they were Roman Catholics, and moſt of them very zealous in their way, and ſtrongly biaſſed againſt all Proteſtants. My father was of an ancient, but decayed family, and had been obliged to leave my mother before I was five years old, and to live near five hundred miles from her, whilſt ſhe was left to live and breed me up upon her ſmall fortune, without receiving any aſſiſtance from him, his misfortunes having put it quite out of his power to contribute any thing; ſo that I was wholly left to her care. However, neither that, nor the narrowneſs of her circumſtances, hindered her from giving me the beſt education ſhe could, being then her only ſurviving child. She was a pious

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good woman in her way, and though I was no ſmall favourite of hers, was yet kept with due ſtrictneſs whilſt I ſtaid with her, which was however but a ſhort time, and do not remember that I had then any the leaſt vicious inclination, nor in all likelihood might have had, had I ſtill continued under her wing; whereas through the miſmanagement of thoſe firſt perſons to whoſe tuition I was next committed, ſuch a wrong foundation was laid, and ſo ſtrong a bias given me to vanity and ſelf-conceit, as proved the unhappy ſource of all my ſad miſcarriages ſince.

One general remark here I cannot avoid making concerning the ſchools of the Roman Catholics, viz. that all their ſtudents muſt learn to read, and even to pray, in Latin, before they are capable of underſtanding one word of it; for this doth but inure them to read and pray without any attention, even when they are afterwards capable of underſtanding what they read and pray for. This ill-timed method had been complained of by many a one who have ſince felt the ſad effects of it, as well as the almoſt inſurmountable difficulty of maſtering a defect ſo early contracted and ſo deeply rooted, as it were, in our nature and none hath had more reaſon to bewail it than I.

But

But what did me in particular the moſt hurt, in my education abroad, was the great admiration which my more than common readineſs at learning whatever came in my way had gained me, and the imprudent fondneſs and partiality which my maſters ſhewed to me on that account. I was hardly turned of ſix years when I was ſent to a free-ſchool taught by two Franciſcan monks, the eldeſt of whom perceiving my uncommon genius for languages, for till then I had only learned to read all ſorts of print and writings, and was beſides very careleſs about writing a tolerable hand, took it into his head to put me to the Latin form, though my mother and all my friends thought me much too young for it, eſpecially as I was to be ranked and claſſed among other boys of twice my years, and who had already been at it a year or two, and ſome more; however he depended ſo much on his judgment about my genius and application, that he doubted not, he ſaid, but to ſee me out-top all the reſt in leſs than a year or two. He was not miſtaken, and though it put me to great difficulties and hard ſtudy to reach them, I began to feel ſuch emotions of vanity at the quick progreſs I made, and the commendations he gave upon it, that I reſted not ſatisfied till I had gained the firſt rank in the

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form, as well as in his affection, for as he ſpared neither careſſes nor encouragement to me, I ſoon became ſenſible, both by his behaviour, as well as by the deference which the other boys paid to me, how much I was got in his favour.

Our ſchool was often viſited by prieſts, monks, gentlemen, and other perſons that paſſed through our city, and though we had in it ſeveral boys whoſe parents were in a much higher ſtation, yet I was always ſingled out as the flower of the flock, and as the moſt ready to anſwer ſuch queſtions as were ſuitable to our form. Our monk had likewiſe, by way of animating us, cauſed ſome curious nicknacks to be made by the nuns of a neighbouring monaſtery, which they were to wear hanging to their button-holes, by a fine ribbon, who held the firſt ſeats. Theſe were of ſeveral ſizes, and one of them much larger than the reſt was for the foremoſt in rank. We were to be entitled to theſe according to our merit, and this laſt fell to my lot from the firſt exerciſe, and ſo proud was I become of this bauble, that I never loſt it for one ſingle day; for I had ſuch a ready and retentive memory, and quick apprehenſion, as by the help of a moderate application, made it impoſſible for my ſchool-fellows to wreſt it from me. This mark of diſtinc-

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tion did moreover entitle me to be head monitor and marſhal of that whole ſchool. All which filled me with ſuch vanity and ambition to excel, that I could not brook any ſuperiority or preference, and our monk was but too fond of indulging, and even encouraging me in it, though to my no ſmall detriment, as he might eaſily perceive that it had given me ſuch a ſtrong bias to pride, as a prudent man would have rather choſen to nip in the bud, eſpecially as he eaſily perceived that it created no ſmall envy in my ſchool-fellows, and a kind of diſſatisfaction in ſome of their parents and relations.

He tried once indeed to thwart his partiality to me, by giving our form a new kind of exerciſe, the price of which to the beſt performer was to be a fine piece of nun's work, which he adjudged to another, whom all the ſchool knew to be a dunce, but in point of quality the head of us all. Had he given it to ſome others of our form, who were greater proficients in learning, I might have thought they had ſucceeded better in their performance than I at that time; and though it would have been a great mortification to me, it might have only made me double my diligence; but here the preference was ſo flagrant and viſible, that I could not forbear expreſſing a deſire

a deſire to know wherein he had outdone me, and a ſuſpicion that he had been aſſiſted underhand by ſome monk, or ſomebody elſe. When the good father found that I took the matter ſo to heart, and, in ſome meaſure, threatened to bid adieu, if not to the Latin, at leaſt to his ſchool; (and I believe I ſhould really have done it, ſo highly I reſented what I called the injuſtice done me) he thought fit to pacify me, by aſſuring me, that my competitor had, upon this occaſion, ſo far excelled himſelf, that he could not forbear aſſigning him the prize by way of encouragement, though my performance was far enough from being inferior to his; and ſo, to put an end to the contention, immediately ſent for another piece of the ſame curious work, and gave it to me, not without ſome great encomium on my uncommon diligence and progreſs, and other tokens of his ſingular regard, which ſent me home ſo ſatisfied and full of myſelf, that, alas for me! every thing ſeemed to contribute to ſwell my growing pride, and make me forget myſelf.

Many other ſuch inſtances of his partial fondneſs I could name, which all tended to make me ſtill more aſſuming and arrogant; one however I cannot paſs by, which ſhall ſerve as a ſpecimen: as I never was guilty of a fault at ſchool, ſo let me do

what I would out of it, I was never puniſhed for it, as the other boys were, but had, perhaps, a ſoft reprimand or ſome eaſy taſk aſſigned me by way of penance, for I cannot call to mind that I ever had a blow or croſs word from him. One day in particular, ſome ſtrangers, who viſited us after dinner, obtained us a diſcharge for the reſt of the day. We were no ſooner got out but I told my ſchool-fellows, that we ought to go and procure the ſame releaſe to the girls of another ſchool. Accordingly we went and broke into the houſe, and drove the miſtreſs and ſcholars out, and then locked the doors, that they might not be obliged to come in again, and ſent her the key at night. On the next day a ſevere complaint was brought againſt us for the aſſault, and I charged as the ringleader of the reſt, upon which a ſuitable puniſhment was promiſed, and ſoon after put in execution, in which I not only expected to have a ſhare, but to be the firſt called down to it, and yet, by what partial motive I know not; I had no other puniſhment than a ſeeming ſevere reprimand, and ſome eaſy taſk, whilſt all the reſt were forced to ſubmit to the diſcipline of the ſchool. This partiality they loudly complained of, not only to him, but to their friends; but their reſentment upon it only gave me new mat-

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ter for triumph, as it did to them new cauſe for envy, which yet they dared not vent in any other way than words.

Thus I went on learning of Latin apace; I could tranſlate out of it, write and ſpeak it with great readineſs, as far as I had been taught, which was thought ſurpriſing, conſidering I had hardly attained my ninth year, and been but two years under his care. The misfortune was, that he made us only converſant with common ſchool-books, and but with few of any of the old claſſics either in proſe or verſe, ſo that I was quite unacquainted with their ſtile till I came into better hands, as I ſoon after did; for our good father being ſhortly after choſen head, or, as they ſtile it, guardian of another convent, about twenty-four miles from this, and in an archiepiſcopal city, where was alſo a college of Jeſuits for the education of youth, he eaſily prevailed upon my mother to let me go with him thither, and to board at the monaſtery under his eye, whilſt I went on with my ſtudies at the college, where he alſo promiſed to recommend me to the care of thoſe fathers. He likewiſe promiſed her that he would, in the evening, make me repeat and explain what I had learned in the day, and by that means puſh me ſo forward in my learning that I ſhould out-top all my age, all which proved ſuch powerful perſuaſives to

my mother, that ſhe eaſily agreed to it, eſpecially as he took four or five more youths with him to be on the ſame foot with me both at the college and in the convent. We ſet out accordingly with him for the place, and when I was introduced into the Jeſuits college, there was no ſmall ſtrife, what claſs I ſhould be admitted into at firſt. Here it will be neceſſary to acquaint the reader that the Jeſuits diſtinguiſh their forms, or, as they more properly ſtile them, claſſes, each of them being kept in a ſeparate apartment, as follows, viz.

1. The vith, or loweſt, where they begin to learn the Latin Grammar.

2. vth, Where they perfect themſelves in that, and begin to learn ſome Latin books, and to make ſome wretched Latin.

3. ivth, Where they read Tacitus, Cicero's Epiſtles, Ovid, and ſome other eaſy Roman authors, and begin to make better Latin.

4. iiid, Where they read Curtius, Cicero's ſpeeches, Virgil, and make pretty good Latin, and learn to make Latin verſes. They likewiſe begin here to learn the Greek Grammar.

5. Humanity. In this claſs they read Horace, Cicero, Terence, make good verſes, and compoſe ſome ſet ſpeeches on a ſubject given, and if they have a genius for it, make ſome con-

conſiderable progreſs in the Greek tongue, though they only read homilies of the fathers, and make verſions out of Latin into Greek. They likewiſe make ſome ſet ſpeeches, or poetical works, before a full audience.

6. Rhetoric. Here Homer and other Greek poets, Demoſthenes and other Greek authors, are read; together with Cicero de Oratore, Horace's Satyres, and de Arte poetica Themes are compoſed on given ſubjects, as much as can be, in the Ciceronian ſtile and method; and likewiſe poems in imitation of the Greek and Latin poets, and other books, compiled by ſome of the ſociety for the uſe of this claſs, as there are others for every claſs elſe, and every branch of learning that is taught in them, the greateſt part of which is to be learned by heart by the ſcholars, as well as ſeveral other perſons, out of the claſſic authors, in order to exerciſe their memory, as is pretended, but rather ſerves to clog it with a deal of unintelligible ſtuff, which being ſooner forgot than learned, ſerves to little purpoſe, except it be to take up ſo much of their time, to the neglect of more uſeful things, and more adapted to their capacities; to which I may ſafely add another great inconveniency, viz that theſe leſſons being to be repeated to the decurions or monitors, before the regent comes in, and an account to

be given to him who hath, or who hath not learned them duly, in order to be commended or reproved, both the ſcholar and the monitor are in ſuch haſte to go through the drudgery, that thoſe are moſt approved of who can repeat theirs with the greateſt ſpeed, or rather with precipitation, by which ſuch an habit is formed of ſpeaking and reading with ſuch monſtrous quickneſs, as will require a great deal of trouble and pains to break one's ſelf off afterwards, if ever it is really rectified, and this I found long ſince to my loſs, and no ſmall grief.

7. The laſt is philoſophy, which they divide into logic, phyſics, metaphyſics, and morality, each of which takes them a quarter of a year in learning, or, at leaſt, in expounding. Every ſcholar is obliged to ſpend a year at leaſt in each of the claſſes; and if, at the year's end, when they are all to be ſeparately examined, any be found tardy, either through dulneſs or negligence, they are condemned to go through the ſame ſtudies another year, whilſt the reſt, who are found worthy, are promoted to the next claſs in rank.

When I came therefore to be acquainted with the particular ſtudies and books of each claſs, and came to reflect on my being ſuch a ſtranger to the claſſics, I begged of my old maſter

maſter that I might be offered only as candidate for the third claſs, where they began to be taught, and this I ſhould have looked upon as a favour, conſidering that it was then Midſummer, and that I was herded as a beginner into a claſs where the reſt had already ſtudied ſix months; ſo that I thought I ſhould have ſtill enough to do to overtake them before the year was out. But the good father would by no means agree to it, but inſiſted upon my being examined as a candidate to humanity. This, I complained, was putting a double hardſhip upon me, being an utter ſtranger to the every author that was read in this as well as in the other below it, and having, at moſt, but ſeven months to maſter them all; he ſo far engaged, though againſt my will, for my overcoming all thoſe difficulties by my genius and application, that I was obliged to undergo the examination of a candidate for humanity: and though my repugnance made me leſs ſolicitous how I went through it, as I was ſo deſirous to be ſent down to the claſs below it, yet whether the old monk's intereſt prevailed, or my own merit gained it, I was readily admitted into the claſs of humanity, and found it a very hard tug to keep up my credit under thoſe diſadvantages I laboured under. I wondered indeed how my old maſter could be guilty of ſuch a neglect, and often preſſed him to give

me his aſſiſtance, which he trying to comply with, gave me but too fair an opportunity of diſcovering the true cauſe of it, viz. his being as unacquainted with them as I was. This therefore proved a very difficult claſs to me; and what was ſtill more diſcouraging to me was, that our regent, ſo they call the perſon that teaches in every claſs, inſtead of making any kind allowance for my tender years, for my being entered ſo late, and under ſuch diſadvantages, often charged me with neglect and indolence, and, in a jocoſe manner, threatened to leave me *inter manentes*, that is, inſtead of raiſing to the next claſs, to leave me in this for another year. And though I was ſenſible that would have been more for my advantage, yet the ſhame of it was what I could not have brooked; and I thought it a mortification more than ſufficient to be ranked among the middlemoſt of his claſs, who had till then been uſed to be at the head. But this he did rather to ſpur me on than to diſpirit me, that I might the more eaſily be admitted into the claſs of rhetoric againſt the time of the yearly examination. This grand ceremoney is performed a little before the Chriſtmas holidays, and when the ſcholars have learned their doom, that is, whether to go up or to ſtay in the old claſs, they break up for ten or twelve days, and go to their reſpective homes. There

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were at this time four or five of my own townſboys, all of them not only much older, but who had been at the college ſeveral years before me, and bore a kind of envy againſt me for being admitted at once into the ſame claſs with them, and would have been glad to have left me behind in it. This conſideration, joined to the diſpleaſure ſuch a piece of news would have been, not only to my old maſter, but much more ſo to my mother, made me ſo much the more diligent againſt the time of trial, and the more eaſily forego the advantage of another year's humanity, for the pride and pleaſure of keeping pace with, and following them into rhetoric. Accordingly, I exerted myſelf ſo well, and gave ſuch ſatisfaction at my examination, that I was nominated, as well as they, for that higher claſs. But tho' this gave me no ſmall joy, and made me go home with a lighter heart, yet I have had ſince ſufficient reaſon to wiſh it had proved otherwiſe; for our next regent, (the Jeſuits cuſtom is to change them every year, and to ſend new ones out of other colleges) proved a perſon every way almoſt unqualified for that high claſs, ſo that we rather went backward than forward under him. He eſſayed at firſt to expound ſome of the Greek poets and orators by the help of the Latin verſions annexed to them, in doing which he ſo far betrayed

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his ignorance of that tongue, that every one of us ſoon became ſenſible of it, which obliged him to ſet it quite aſide. He was not much happier in the Latin ones, though better acquainted with them, and took at length ſuch a diſguſt to the college method, that he may juſtly be ſaid to have diverted himſelf with teaching us things quite oppoſite to it, and altogether foreign to our claſs, but which ſuited his genius better.

It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the three main qualifications that procure admiſſion into that ſociety, are quality, or high rank, learning and riches. Our good regent was one of the laſt ſort, being the ſon of an overgrown citizen or tradeſman, who brought money enough into the fraternity to make amends for his want of learning; and as this college was but an obſcure one, in compariſon to thoſe which they have in their great univerſities, he might be thought perhaps good enough to teach here; at leaſt, if he was not fit to do ſo here, he could be much leſs ſo any where elſe. He complied however ſo far with the rules of the college, and of our claſs, as to oblige us now and then to make verſes, themes, verſions, and ſuch low exerciſes; but I ſoon found that he did not give himſelf the trouble of looking them over, or even, for form's ſake, of commending or diſcommending our performances according

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to their merit. As he was of a facetious temper, he would often ſo far indulge his vein, as to entertain us for a whole hour with ſtories, which were neither calculated to improve our minds, nor to make us in love with our books. At length, quite tired, as he ſeemed, with the drudgery of the college, he took it into his head to teach us heraldry, geography, and fortification, inſtead of the proper leſſons of our claſs; ſo that we were forced, in ſome meaſure, to exchange books for maps, coats of arms, plans of cities, caſtles, &c. and, at length, to dabble with him in clay and dirt, in order to make a variety of fortifications, with all their appurtenances and proper colours; and theſe he took no ſmall pride in ſhewing to ſtrangers, but with this ſalvo, that this was our and his employment only between the ſchool hours, tho' we were but too ſenſible that they took up likewiſe all our ſchool-time, ſo that ſome days we did nothing elſe but that, to the neglect of every other branch of learning that was proper for our claſs. At length, after having trifled away near two thirds of the year, to our no ſmall detriment, and to my great regret, who was ſo far behind-hand in my learning, I was timely relieved, as I thought, by a letter from my mother, informing me, that the rector of a ſmall convent of Dominicans in our neighbourhood,

was going to teach philoſophy to as many young gentlemen as he could get, and inviting me to make one of the number. I readily agreed to it, the convent being but a pleaſant walk out of my native city; and though I found I muſt take my leave of the claſſics if I went, yet I thought the learning of philoſophy would be both more creditable and uſeful, than the poor ſtuff which our Jeſuit taught us; though had I been then as well acquainted with the ſubtleties of Tho. Aquinas (or rather Ariſtotle, for that is the philoſophy which the Dominicans teach) as I became afterwards, I doubt whether I ſhould ever have been one of his diſciples, at leaſt by my conſent. However, I left the college without any further ceremony, and having acquainted four or five of our claſs that were my townſboys with my deſign, they ſoon followed me, and at our coming to the rector, we found that he had already about twenty more, ſome, from a great univerſity about ſixty miles off, others, from the neighbouring towns, ſeveral of them mere dunces and ruſtics, with no other education than a little ſmattering of the Latin tongue, and not above five or ſix tolerably qualified for the ſtudy we were engaging in. As for me, whatever my old Franciſcan maſter might depend upon as to the ſtrength of my genius and cloſeneſs of application for acquiring

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theſe branches of learning I was ſtill wanting in, yet the diſcouragements which I had already encountered through his miſmanagement, in placing me in too high a form, as well as the time we had trifled away in the claſs of rhetoric, had much abated my thirſt after learning; and the much greater diſappointment I met with under this new pretended teacher of philoſophy, quite compleated my misfortune, by turning it into a downright careleſſneſs and indifference about it. For tho' I was naturally quick enough, and aſſiduous at whatever I could gain the maſtery of, and applauſe for ſo doing, yet, whenever the caſe proved otherwiſe, no youth could be more naturally lazy and ſupine than I; ſo that I cannot but think, on the ſtricteſt recollection I can make, that theſe many diſcouragements ſo cloſely following one another, were rather the cauſe of that deplorable indolence I ſince contracted for all laudable application to ſtudy, than my own natural temper and genius, which, had it been rightly directed and encouraged by proper motives, and eſpecially if kept under ſome ſtrict diſcipline, might have eaſily been enabled to have overcome the greateſt difficulties in almoſt every branch of learning: but to return to our Dominican rector.

He began as uſual with logic, and diſplayed a pretty good talent at explaining it to as many

many of us had a genius for it; for as to the reſt, which were near two-thirds of his ſchool, both he and we could eaſily perceive that he was only wronging them of their time and money, though little did I think how ſoon that was to be my caſe: for though I took his logic with ſuch ſurpriſing quickneſs and delight, as to have but one competitor, and was become a great favourite of his, by the free and humorous way in which I uſed to put, now and then, ſome puzzling queſtions to him; yet when we came to the ſecond branch, which was Ariſtotle's phyſics, with Aquinas's comments, I found it ſuch an unintelligible jargon, and him ſo little qualified to explain it to us, that I became quite tired with it; for ſome of us, eſpecially my competitor and I, expected at leaſt that he would have made every point as clear and evident to us, as he had before in logical lectures, and have anſwered ſuch objections as we were able to raiſe againſt either the doctrines, or his expoſitions; but, to our great ſurprize, we found that he had undertaken to expound what himſelf did not underſtand, and that Aquinas's ſubtilities and diſtinctions were as much above his reach as above ours. Thus, for inſtance, Ariſtotle's account of the *materia prima*, together with his ſubtile commentator's expoſitions on it, in which our rector ſpent above a fortnight, including

including the rubs we threw in his way, appeared to us ſuch an unintelligible heap of ſtuff, that, at our taking leave of it, to paſs to another point, we made ourſelves very merry about it, and owned ourſelves as much in the dark, as when he began it; inſomuch, that he was forced to own he never could thoroughly comprehend it, and only delivered it to us on the authority of that philoſopher, and of his many eminent diſciples of the Dominican order, ſuch as Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, &c. &c. I have ſince, upon running over his leſſons more carefully, found reaſon to doubt whether a much abler head than his, would not have been as much at a loſs to have beat it into any man's brain, that would not be ſatisfied with words without a meaning. However, as I plainly perceived that his chief view was to get our money, without troubling himſelf whether our progreſs was anſwerable, I contracted by degrees ſuch a habit of indolence and liſtleſſneſs to all he ſaid (eſpecially as he had got a ſingular knack at extricating himſelf, when cloſely preſſed, by ſome facetious joke or merry ſtory) that I wrote his lectures, and heard his expoſitions, without any attention, or offering any objection, unleſs it was in the jocund way, and to eliven our drooping ſpirits, and without troubling myſelf whether what he ſaid or anſwered was right or wrong.

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I know not whether it was not owing to his perceiving this liſtleſſneſs in us, that he began to raiſe our expectation and hopes that his metaphyſics, which was ſoon to follow, would prove more delightful to us. We did indeed expect it, from the nature of the ſubjects it treats of, and were not a little impatient to have this quarter finiſhed, that we might enter into a more entertaining field: but when we found ourſelves no leſs diſappointed in this, it only damped our ſpirits the more, and gave me a ſtill greater diſlike to the jargon of the ſchool, ſo that by that time we entered into the laſt quarter, when ethics were to be the new ſubject of his lectures, and might have otherwiſe proved more uſeful and entertaining to us, if it had been handled by a more proper perſon, we were grown ſo tired and out of conceit with him, that we reaped no more benefit from it than we had from the reſt; and inſtead of diverting ourſelves with repetitions and diſputes about his leſſons, as we uſed to do at firſt, we ſtudied to forget every ſubject he had diſcuſſed to us, as ſoon as we were got out of his ſight. Thus having murdered, as I may ſay, another year, we were diſmiſſed, not without great applauſe and compliments to ſome of us, on account of our parts and proficiency. But if I may judge of the reſt by myſelf, to whom he was always pleaſed to

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allow the firſt rank, I am ſure his praiſes were ill beſtowed as to any benefit we had reaped from his pains and ours: however, I was by that time become ſo great a favourite to him, that he afterwards left no means nor careſſes untried to induce me to enter into their order, and I believe, in the mind I then was in, he might eaſily have prevailed, had not my mother ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it. I was ſenſible of my deficiency in all the branches of learning I had hitherto gone through, by the miſconduct of thoſe under whom I had learned, and could eaſily ſee what dunces both my old Franciſcan maſter and this Dominican rector were, though they paſſed for able men; and where could I better conceal my own defects and ignorance than under a monkiſh habit, which would, at leaſt, give one the reputation of learning? But this I had taken care to conceal from her, partly out of pride, and partly to prevent her taking it to heart; and our rector had addreſs enough to make her believe I was a prodigy, conſidering how young I ſtill was, and to perſuade her to ſend me to the next univerſity, and to learn theology there, promiſing to give me ſuch a recommendation to the Dominicans who taught it there, as well as the Jeſuits, that no pains ſhould be ſpared to make me ſhine in the world. She eaſily conſented to it, and he

gave me a certificate directed to the prior of their convent at that great city, teſtifying that I had gone thro' a courſe of philoſophy, and was fit to be admitted a ſtudent in theology, to which he tacked ſome farther commendations; all which could be of no ſervice to me, unleſs I reſolved to go and learn under the Dominicans, for the Jeſuits would hardly have admitted me to that claſs, before I had gone a new courſe through their philoſophy. It had been, indeed, much better for me to have choſen the latter, conſidering the little proficiency I had made in it; but my pride, and the fear of diſobliging my mother, determined me to the former, and I offered myſelf accordingly, and was readily admitted a ſtudent under two very reverend rectors, the one for the morning, and the other for the afternoon; both very grave and learned, indeed, in their way; but, upon my firſt admittance, the ſchool appeared to me like a new world, where I was looked upon as a little raw ſtrippling, too young quite, in all appearance, to herd among the reſt of the ſtudents, ſome of whom were twice my age, and none by many years ſo young as I. What was ſtill more diſcouraging was, that here was no diſtinction made between thoſe who had already ſtudied near two years (for the whole courſe of theology laſts two whole years) and thoſe who were

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but newly admitted. The ſame lectures were read and expounded to all alike, and in the uſual courſe, ſo that thoſe who came not at the very beginning, had no other chance, but at the end, to put middle and both ends together as well as they could, which made the old ſtanders aſſume ſuch an overbearing air over the new ones, as was altogether mortifying, at leaſt it proved ſo to me, who never had, till then, ſeen my ſchool-fellows ſo much above me.

I may fairly date the completion of my ruin from the time of my coming to this populous place, on more accounts than one: for firſt, the city was a noble, great one, full of gentry and nobility, of coaches, and all kinds of grandeur, all which did greatly affect me, who had never ſeen ſo much by far of the beau monde, neither in my native city, nor in the archiepiſcopal one, where I had ſtudied under the Jeſuits. 2dly, As I had been already cloyed with Aquinas's philoſophy, when I had no ſuch bright tempting objects dancing before my eyes, what likelihood could there be that ſuch a ſchool as this, ſhould reconcile me to the more refined and unintelligible ſubtilties of his theology, eſpecially conſidering the diſadvantages we late comers were forced to labour under, and the high ſtate which our two rectors took upon them? for here was no room for objecting,

or even deſiring a point or a term to be explained, and we had nothing to do but to write what they dictated, and take their expoſitions for ſound doctrine. Even thoſe who had ſtudied longeſt under them, and were looked upon as the brighteſt, were not indulged to ſtart a difficulty, though the occaſion was ever ſo fair; all which damped my ſpirits, who had never been uſed to ſuch a reſtraint, and had, moreover, the mortification to ſee myſelf placed in the loweſt rank, who had, till then, been moſtly at the head, that I grew by degrees quite out of conceit both with myſelf and with the ſchool. What added ſtill more to my diſcontedneſs was, that I boarded at ſome near relations in one of the ſuburbs of the city, and at a great diſtance from the convent, and theſe commonly dined ſo late, that I muſt either take up with an irregular meal, or come near an hour after the reſt to the ſchool. I did indeed prefer the firſt for ſome time, but grew by degrees weary of it, as the ſtudy I was upon grew leſs engaging to me; ſo that though I took up as little time as I could at my dinner, yet one half hour, at leaſt, was loſt by it, and our rector had dictated ſome pages of matter to the reſt, which, after ſchool was over, I uſed to copy out of the manuſcripts of ſome of my ſchool-fellows. Our rector having more than once obſerved what irregular

irregular hours I kept, was ſo kind as to give me a civil reprimand, and not expecting, perhaps, a reply to it, was going on with his lecture, but I had been ſo little uſed to make anſwers to it in dumb-ſhow, as I obſerved many of his hearers were forced to do, that I bluntly told him the occaſion, aſſuring him, that I had not influence enough in the family to prevail on them to alter their hours.

The good father not approving of my excuſe, which plainly ſhewed that I could not forego my dinner for his leſſons, and might be an ill precedent to ſome of the reſt, ſeemed rather inclined to lay the fault on my being better pleaſed with thoſe late hours of dining, or elſe he thought I might eaſily perſuade my relations to alter their method on my account. But whether ſo or not, he inſiſted, and reaſonably enough, that I ſhould conform to the ſchool-hours, whatever inconveniency it might put me as to my dinner. I was ſenſible of the juſtneſs of his reproof, and after having been often at high words with my relations (for they were fully paid for my board) to no purpoſe, and tried to conform to the ſchool-hours for ſome time, I grew weary of it, and having nobody to controul me, which proved my greateſt misfortune, I quite forſook the afternoon lectures, and ſpent that time in ſauntring about the city and country adjacent, viewing the buildings,

and ſometimes taking plans and viſtoes of ſuch places as pleaſed me, but without any other deſign than to divert myſelf. I was, however, ſurpriſed ſoon after, to find myſelf interrogated by our morning profeſſor, about the reaſon of my not coming to the afternoon lectures. Whether my quondam maſter of philoſophy had wrote any thing particularly concerning his expectation of getting me into their order or not, I knew not, but I was in a genteel manner given to underſtand by this, that I ought to look on it as a ſingular favour that they ſo far concerned themſelves about me. What anſwer I made him, beſides my thanking him for his care, I cannot recollect; but though we parted good friends, I ſoon after forſook his lecture alſo, and from that time minded little elſe but my own pleaſures, which though altogether of the innocent kind, ſometimes with the fair ſex, at other times in viewing the curioſities of the place, or making ſolitary excurſions, and the like; yet were not without ſome pungent remorſe, as they tended to little elſe but to inure me to a habit of indolence and careleſs inactivity. At ſome intervals, indeed, I tried to read over all my manuſcripts both in philoſophy and theology, but ſtill ſo diſguſted with them, that I never had the patience to go through them.

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I had before this ſent ſome complaining letters to my mother, as well as meſſages by word of mouth by ſome of my townſmen, who had been witneſſes of the bad hours we kept, and to whom I had related the inconveniency it had put me to, with relation to my ſtudies; and ſhe, good woman, thinking that I took it more to heart than I did, ſent me a ſmall ſupply to convey me to Avignon, where I was to meet an old rich counſellor of our town, who was gone to ſpend ſome time in that famed city. He had no children of his own, but ſome nephews, one of which he deſigned to breed up a ſcholar under me, in conſideration of which I was to lodge and board with the uncle, till I could better provide for myſelf. As this was likely to be a kind of change for the better for me, as well as an eaſement to my mother, whoſe ſtrait circumſtances could hardly permit her to be at ſuch expence for my education, I made no delay to go down to Avignon, where I found the old gentleman ready to receive me, and, a day or two after, entered into my new office of tutor to his nephew, who had already made ſome progreſs in the Latin Grammar. I had not been long there before I got acquainted with a young abbé, or candidate for prieſtly orders, a countryman of mine, and an ingenious young man, of ſome learning; and he find-

ing that I had ſtudied philoſophy and theology under the Dominicans, introduced me to one of their profeſſors in this city, by whom I was courteouſly received, and ſoon after admitted to be one of his diſciples. This father, who was a man of ſingular modeſty and humanity, and was reputed a ſaint, paid me an uncommon regard upon my firſt admiſſion to his lectures, and made an apology to the reſt of his ſcholars for recapitulating ſome of his former leſſons and expoſitions, *in gratiam*, as he was pleaſed to word it, *chariſſimi noſtri novi diſcipuli*, that I might the better underſtand what he was then, and afterwards, to deliver to us. This great condeſcenſion, which had not been ſhewed to me by either of the profeſſors of the laſt univerſity, and which I ſince underſtood was not uſual among them, did highly oblige me, and I would have been glad to have made ſuch a proficiency under him, as might have, in ſome meaſure, anſwered his ſingular kindneſs to me, which he ſtill continued to expreſs all the time I went to hear him, but my misfortune was, that I was ſtill ſo unacquainted as well as diſguſted at the ſubtilities of the ſchool, and met with ſuch crampt diſtinctions and technical terms I was ſtill a ſtranger to, and was aſhamed to aſk the meaning of from any of the ſcholars, who were far enough from thinking me ſo great

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a novice to the language of the Thomiſts, that I began again, in ſpite of all his careſſes, and my own eager deſires, to deſpair of ever becoming a theologian; and theſe difficulties added to the lazy and unthinking habit I had ſo long indulged, made me at length forbear going any more to hear him.

I have already hinted that my mother's circumſtances were too narrow for the expence I had already put her to, and my father was ſtill more unable to give her any aſſiſtance in it, though he was not a little pleaſed at the great progreſs he was told I had made for my years. Her hopes and mine were, indeed, that I might by that means introduce myſelf as a tutor into ſome good family, and ſave her all farther charges. But I had been ſo far neglected in the other parts of my education, had ſo little addreſs or politeneſs, and knew ſo little of the world, that I could not look upon myſelf as fit for ſuch an employment among perſons above the common rank, and my pride would not let me aim at any thing below it; ſo that inſtead of trying as I might, and ought to have done, I was rather become careleſs and indifferent about it, and I was indeed both too young and too naturally unfit for it. Notwithſtanding which, ſome of my acquaintance, unknown or undeſired, got me into a middling family, where I was upon ſome-

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what better terms than with my old counſellor; but the overgrown youth, who was put under my care, and was much older, and taller by the head and ſhoulders than I, had, by that time, contracted ſuch an indolence, or rather averſeneſs, both to the Latin tongue, and to other laudable ſtudies, that had I been ever ſo diligent in teaching him, it would have been to little purpoſe, becauſe, as I ſoon found, he wanted parts as well as inclination for ſtudy; ſo that we ſpent more of our time in playing on the violin and flute than at our books. His mother, who heard us at it longer and oftner than ſhe thought was conſiſtent with the progreſs ſhe expected him to make under me, complained more than once of it to me; upon which I made no difficulty to tell her, that a greater degree of application would rather confirm him in his averſeneſs, than reconcile him to his ſtudy, as he had ſo ſmall a capacity for it. I left this ſoon after for a better place with a perſon of diſtinction, who intruſted two ſons of his to my care, both very young, and ſpoiled by the mother, that the eldeſt, above ſeven years of age, could but juſt read, and neither of them inclined to learn. I tried what I could to bring them to it, but to little purpoſe, except a little hiſtory, which the eldeſt took more freely to, but the mother's indulgence was not the only obſtacle, and as ſhe

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was a ſprightly lady, and her ſpouſe ſomewhat heavy, though not old, I ſoon found by her behaviour, and her parting beds with him ſoon after my coming, that ſhe would have been better pleaſed I had transferred my care from them to her; and as I was naturally fond of ingratiating myſelf with the ſex, I indulged her in all her little foibles, but without having the leaſt deſign of going farther than a bare complaiſance, in order to gain her eſteem and admiration, rather than her affection, and to ſatisfy my own vanity, rather than cheriſh a dangerous paſſion for her. This made me to take frequent occaſions to recommend myſelf by falſe merit, ſince I had no real one that could do it, by pretending to more virtue and religion than I had, and to palliate the low circumſtances of my parents by ſome vain excuſes, and pretences, all which I did with ſo little caution, and in ſo aukward a manner, as made me appear rather more deſpicable in her eyes, conſidering the mean appearance I made, and which was owing chiefly to my own negligence and bad œconomy. All theſe diſadvantages, however, might have been eaſily overlooked, and I might have been readily ſuffered to indulge my own prevailing paſſion, if I could but have ſhewed more concern for hers.

It is not my deſign to dwell on ſuch ſcenes as theſe, much leſs to aſcribe my neglect and overlooking the ſeveral diſtant offers made by ſo agreeable a perſon to my own virtue. I might more juſtly impute it to my natural ſheepiſh baſhfulneſs, and unexperienced youth; however, after a ſix month's ſtay, and ſome viſible proofs that it was not in my power to conquer it, I perceived a ſtrange coldneſs to ſucceed, which made me think it would not be long before I was diſcharged. She was ſoon after viſited by ſome relations, who perſuaded her to go and ſpend ſome part of the ſummer with them about twenty miles off. They, eſpecially the gentlemen, affected the air of libertines, and all of them expreſſed a ſingular contempt for the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, by which I gueſſed them to be concealed Proteſtants, of whom there were great numbers in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphinee, and I have had ſince reaſon to think, that my young lady was ſo likewiſe, by her light behaviour at church, and on other occaſions. I had ſome ſmall diſputes with them, being then very zealous for that church, but they knowing that I had ſtudied divinity, and fearing, I ſuppoſe, leſt too eager an oppoſition to what I urged againſt them ſhould cauſe a diſcovery, they declined entering the liſt with me any farther, and I then found,

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for the firſt time, that the Proteſtants had more to ſay for themſelves than I had ever imagined; for the divinity we were taught at the ſchools ſeldom meddled with the controverſies between us and the Proteſtants, ſo that had it not been for fear, thoſe gentlemen, I found, might eaſily have foiled me, notwithſtanding all my theology. The lady was preparing for her journey, and was to take her ſons with her, yet kept me in ſuſpenſe whether I was to accompany her, or ſtay with her huſband, or be diſcharged. I have had reaſon to think ſince, that ſhe had an end in it; but finding my behaviour ſtill aukward and unpromiſing, notwithſtanding ſome freſh eſſays, which I did not then ſo well comprehend, ſhe left it to her huſband, who was a perſon that cared for nothing but his bottle, and left her to do as ſhe pleaſed in every thing elſe, to acquaint me with the news that they ſhould have no farther occaſion for me. I was more grieved than ſurpriſed at it, which, ſhe perceiving, occaſioned one more ſnare to be laid by means of the chambermaid, which proving ſtill unſucceſsful, and this was the very night before they were to ſet out, I was deſpiſed and laughed at, and given to underſtand, that I might thank myſelf if the lady and I went different ways.

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I have already hinted that virtue and religion had little or no ſhare in my diſappointing her, but rather a vanity of being thought more chaſte than I really was, which kept me ſo indeed, as to the act, not only on this, but many other rencounters, though in heart and thought few men were more ſtrangers to that virtue than I, even at thoſe tender years; and though religion, which, in all my fooliſh extravagancies, I never once loſt ſight of, held ſtill ſome check on my mind, yet it could hardly turn even the ſcale againſt any favourite paſſion of mine, farther than to make me condemn myſelf after having yielded to it; ſo that it was rather the fear of a repulſe, or ſome other or worſe conſequence that kept me from ſhewing an equal ardor for her, whatever opinion my different behaviour might give her of me. The company and ſhe were no ſooner gone than I took the road to Avignon, where I heard that my old counſellor was gone home, with his nephews, to my no ſmall grief, eſpecially as my pockets were then low, the widow where we had boarded very poor, and I had ſo few acquaintance in that city; however, I ventured to ſtay with her till I could write to my mother for a freſh ſupply, or till ſomething better fell in my way, though I had little reaſon to expect any ſucceſs from either; being by this time become very ſhabby in cloaths and linen,

linen, and more indolent and inactive than ever. To ward off, as much as poſſible, the pungent mortification of my preſent circumſtances, I had recourſe to my old ſtratagem, of cloathing myſelf with ſome falſe merit for want of a great one, and of pretending to be a ſufferer for religion for a too great attachment to the church, and laying moſt of the blame on my own father, as uſing me the more ſeverely on that account; all which, though abominably falſe in every reſpect, yet being too eaſily liſtened to by ſome of my acquaintance, eſpecially among the friars, did gain me ſo much pity and admiration, as ſoothed my vanity for the preſent, though it did not anſwer the main end I propoſed, its introducing me into ſome new family as a tutor, and at the ſame accounting, in ſome tolerable meaſure, for the mean appearance I then made.

I was about the ſame time informed that the famed fair of Baucaire, a city in Languedoc, on the Rhone, and one of the largeſt fairs in Europe, was at hand, and, that among the great concourſe at it, I might meet with ſome of my own townſmen, from whom I might get a freſh ſupply. I went accordingly, and found there ſeveral merchants of my acquaintance, who furniſhed me with as much money for the preſent, as would juſt ſerve, but, on the next day, when

when I expected to have received a much larger ſum, I only met with a ſevere reprimand for my mean appearance, and for not having made a better uſe of the opportunities I had had of diſcharging my mother from all future expences on my account. I excuſed it as well as I could to them, they being no ſtrangers to the great poverty, not to ſay univerſal miſery, that then reigned at Avignon, where the ſtreets abounded with people, who, from living very comfortably, and ſome of them richly, on the ſilk manufacture of the place, were, on the decay of it, reduced to the loweſt degree of beggary. They told me, that though that was too truly the caſe of the tradeſmen, yet the prieſts and monks lived in as much plenty as ever, and a lad of my parts and learning might eaſily have founds to have recommended himſelf to ſome of them, inſtead of appearing in ſuch a guiſe as I did, and which, they ſaid, made them apprehenſive I had taken up ſome ill courſes. This cenſure, which was no leſs unjuſt than ſevere, if they ſpoke what they thought, did cut me to the heart; for no youth could be more free from the vices of drinking, gaming, intriguing, &c. than I was. Happy it would have been for me if I could have as eaſily diſculpated myſelf from thoſe of indolence, vanity, and bad œconomy, for theſe were the true ſources of my misfortunes,

misfortunes, inſomuch that I am perſuaded, if they had ſupplied me with as great a ſum, as I could in reaſon have deſired, I ſhould have been induced to have laid out the greateſt part of it in ſuch curious nicknacks and trifles as that fair affords, eſpecially of the muſical kind; for I had already, in that ſhort interval, agreed for a good number of them; but whether they had ſet any body to watch my motions, and gueſſed at the prepoſterous uſe I ſhould make of what money they might lend me, or whatever other reaſon they might have, they abſolutely refuſed to let me have even ſo much as would bring me back to Avignon; ſo that one may eaſily imagine the diſmal plight I was in all the way thither, to ſay nothing of that mortification I ſhould meet with among my acquaintance there at my ill ſucceſs. I found, however, a plauſible excuſe for it, by pretending that I was come a day or two too late, and that the merchants were, by that time, ſo ſhort of caſh that they could not ſupply me, but that they would remit me what I wanted ſoon after their return home. I likewiſe told my old landlady, to whom I was hardly indebted for a quarter of a year's board and lodging, that I expected two of them to be there ſhortly at an approaching fair, which was actually true, and ſhe knew and dealt with one of them for ſome ſort of

goods, ſo that had I had the patience to have ſtaid till then, my mother, who had expreſſed no ſmall reſentment at their ungenerous refuſal, would not have failed ſending me a freſh ſupply by them; whereas, hearing that I had left the place, ſhe ſent only what would pay the poor woman, whilſt I, unknown to her, or any one elſe, had taken a reſolution to return home, bare as I was of money and cloaths.

I lately took notice of my ſhameful pretence of being a kind of ſufferer for religion, to ſome of my acquaintance, and tho' vanity and my then ill plight was my only incentive to it, I began now to think it might be made a means of facilitating my long journey homewards; I went accordingly and furniſhed myſelf with a kind of paſs, or certificate, at a proper office, ſignifying that I was a young ſtudent in theology, of Iriſh extract, and that I had left the country for the ſake of religion, by which is commonly implied the Roman Catholic, and that I was then going on a pilgrimage to Rome. This abſurd and falſe aſſertion coſt me ſince many a ſhameful lye to make it paſs for current, eſpecially as often as I met with any perſons who had any tolerable knowledge of Iriſh affairs, to which I was an utter ſtranger. I did, indeed, know ſeveral Engliſh and Iriſh, who had followed king James's fortune, and were

were well reſpected in France, Italy, &c. but my vanity could not be ſatisfied with the credit of paſſing for the ſon of ſome one of them; I wanted to have it thought my own voluntary act, that I forſook that country and my parents, and fortune, for the ſake of religion. Had the ſecretary, from whom I had procured that certificate, been ever ſo little diffident, my very name, which had nothing of Iriſh or Engliſh, but which my pride would not let me forego, becauſe it had ſomething of quality in it, would eaſily have diſcovered the roguery of the pretence; and this I mention to ſhew my raſhneſs and ignorance, of which I ſhall give a further inſtance, in the method I took immediately after obtaining the paſs, to equip myſelf in a pilgrim's garb; for I was not in a condition to purchaſe one, tho' it conſiſted only of a long ſtaff handſomely turned, and a ſhort leathern or oil-cloth cloak, not unlike what the women call a pelerine. However, I had obſerved ſuch a one in a chapel belonging to a pariſh-church, and dedicated to a miraculous ſaint, which, I ſuppoſe, had been ſet up there as a monument of gratitude by ſome wandering pilgrim come to the end of his journey. The chapel was never without a number of devotees, who prayed and burnt tapers before the image of the ſaint; but this did not deter me from venturing in, and tak-

ing both ſtaff and cloak away at noon-day; had I been examined about it, I was only furniſhed with a juvenile pretence, that I looked upon it to be ſet up there to accommodate ſuch pilgrims as could not otherwiſe provide themſelves with it. How far ſuch a poor excuſe might have gone I know not, neither did I trouble my head about it; however, I eſcaped without ſuch an enquiry, and carried it off unmoleſted, and made what haſte I could to ſome private corner, where I threw the cloak over my ſhoulders, and walked with a ſanctified gravity with the ſtaff in my hand, till I was got out of the city.

Being thus accoutred, and furniſhed with a paſs to my mind, I began at all proper places to beg my way in a fluent Latin; accoſting only clergymen, or perſons of figure, by whom I could be underſtood, and was moſt likely to be relieved; and I found them moſtly ſo generous and credulous, that had I had the leaſt propenſity to provide for hereafter, I might eaſily have ſaved a good deal of money, and put myſelf into a much more creditable garb, before I had gone through a ſcore or two of miles; but ſuch was my vanity and extravagance, that as ſoon as I had got what I thought a ſufficient viaticum, I begged no more, but viewed every thing worth ſeeing, then retired to ſome inn, where I ſpent my money as freely as I got it, not

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without ſome ſuch aukward tokens of generoſity, as better ſuited with my vanity than my preſent circumſtances. The nearer I drew to my native place, the more irreſolute I grew, whether I ſhould pay a viſit to my mother, or continue my journey to Rome; the concern I knew ſhe muſt be in about me, ſtrongly inclined me to the former, but my uncommon mean garb, which was become only more ſcandalous by the length of the journey, made me ſo aſhamed to be ſeen either by her, or any of my friends, that I fully reſolved on the latter. I had, in order to it, wheeled about to the left, to leave the place at ſome twenty or thirty miles diſtance, and was got into a ſmall town where I little expected to be known, when venturing on the Sunday into the church, at the time of high maſs, I was ſurpriſed to ſee ſome perſons, eſpecially two or three gentlewomen, whoſe chief reſidence was at my native city, but who it ſeems were ſpending part of the ſummer at that place, and who, in ſpight of my being thus tranſmogrified, did eaſily recall me to mind, and gave me to underſtand they did. I was ſo ſhocked at it, that I left the church at the moſt ſolemn part of the ſervice, when they were moſt intent on their devotions, not caring to ſtand an examen from them, and made the beſt of my way through private paths, to avoid being caught,

if purſued. Whether I was ſo I know not, but the ſight of them made ſuch a ſtrong impreſſion on my mind, and raiſed ſuch an earneſt deſire in me of ſeeing once more that beloved city, eſpecially conſidering that it was now impoſſible to conceal either my way of travelling, or mean appearance, from my friends, that as ſoon as I thought myſelf out of the reach of a purſuit, I took the direct road homeward, with an intent to go and ſatisfy my poor anxious mother, before ſhe got the intelligence from other hands, and conſult with her, whether I ſhould purſue my journey to Rome, or get into any other way ſhe liked better. And I only took care to enter the city in the duſk of the evening, and got to her houſe unperceived by any but thoſe of the family.

My poor mother was glad to ſee me, tho' ſorry to behold the mean garb I was in, and failed not, though with her uſual tenderneſs, to chide me, for having made ſo bad an uſe of the opportunities, ſhe ſuppoſed I had had, of puſhing my fortune, which, ſhe knew as well as I, was but too much owing to my indolence. Much more reaſon would ſhe have had to chide me, had ſhe known how much of my time I had trifled away during the laſt year and a half I had been abſent from her; but that I concealed from her, and the good woman was ſometimes inclined to think,

think, that my too great eagerneſs after my ſtudies had made me neglect every thing elſe. But I was greatly ſurpriſed at the end of two or three days, during which I had kept as much from ſight as I could, to hear her propoſe to me, ſince I had found out ſo cheap, ſafe, and eaſy a way of travelling, to go and pay a viſit to my father, who then lived ſome hundreds of miles from her, and try what I could get him to do for me; and I had the more reaſon to wonder at her propoſal, becauſe ſhe knew, as well as I, that a tradeſman of our town, who had been with him about two or three years before, had brought us a very indifferent account of his circumſtances. This made me ſuſpect that a couſin of mine, and a great favourite of hers, whoſe fortune was in no wiſe ſuitable to his high ſpirit, had put that ſtrange project in her head, that I might be far enough out of the way of obſtructing her kindneſs to him. Whether there was any real foundation for my ſuſpicion, I cannot ſay, but the ſurprize ſhe obſerved me to be in at her propoſal, made ſuch an impreſſion upon her, that ſhe forgot nothing that could aſſure me of her maternal and unalterable tenderneſs, alledging that ſhe only wanted to be better ſatisfied of the condition my father was in, than ſhe was from the report of the tradeſman above mentioned, and adding, that in caſe I found

it not to my liking, and him as tender as I might expect, ſhe charged me expreſsly to leave him, and come back to her as ſoon as poſſible, and by no means to ſtay longer than a year from her, unleſs I could convince her that it was very much to my advantage.

Being thus far ſatisfied of her maternal affection, I eaſily conſented to take the journey, having by that time contracted an inclination to ramble and ſee new countries, and as it was a long and dangerous one, we thought it improper to alter my dreſs, the meanneſs of which would rather be a ſafeguard; however, ſhe thought fit to ſew up a ſmall quantity of gold to my cloaths, which, ſhe ſaid, would ſerve to buy me ſome better ones, when I came near the end of my journey. My ſtaff and cloak, with the addition of a long looſe gown, made of a light kind of black buckram to cover the reſt from duſt, were ſent by a man to a place on the road, about four miles off; and very early in the morning I took a ſorrowful leave of my mother, and ſhe of me, and ſhe repeated her charge to me to return to her, if I did not find things to my ſatisfaction. When I came to the place where my pilgrim's dreſs waited for me, I put it on, and went on not without a heavy heart, tho' without the leaſt doubt of my mother's conſtant affection. My direct rout was thro' the firſt great univerſity

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where I had began to ſtudy theology, ſo that I was forced to wheel about to avoid it, for fear of being known. All the reſt of the way I was an utter ſtranger to, and I met frequently with ſome objects that made me ſhrink, tho' it was a conſiderable high road; now and then at ſome lonely place lay the carcaſe of a man rotting and ſtinking on the ground by the way-ſide, with a rope about his neck, which was faſtened to a poſt about two or three yards diſtance, and theſe were the bodies of highwaymen, or rather of ſoldiers, ſailors, mariners, or even galley-ſlaves, diſbanded after the peace of Reſwick, who, having neither home nor occupation, uſed to infeſt the roads in troops, plunder towns and villages, and when taken were hanged at the county-town by dozens, or even ſcores ſometimes, after which their bodies were thus expoſed along the highway *in terrorem*. At other places one met with croſſes, either of wood or ſtone, the higheſt not above two or three feet, with inſcriptions to this purport; "pray for the ſoul of A. B. or of a ſtranger "that was found murdered on this ſpot." Theſe deterring objects made me willing to aſſociate myſelf to ſome fellow-travellers whom I met on the ſame road; but ſuch was my vanity, that I never renewed the pilgrim's trade of begging whilſt any of my money laſted, but was rather laviſh of it on ſome of them,

them, tho' I knew not how ſoon I might feel the want of it, and I had not reſumed it long before I met with ſuch a mortification as made me heartily repent of my folly. I was to go through the celebrated city of Lyons, abounding with the fineſt buildings and other curioſities, which I was very deſirous to ſee; and when I came to one of the gates, was aſked by an officer, in a livery like our beadles, whether I wanted a viaticum? Not knowing the conſequence of his queſtion, I anſwered in the affirmative, and was bid immediately to follow him. I was ſurpriſed at the length of the way he led me, and obſerved ſeveral fine churches, palaces, ſquares, &c. which I ſtood ſtill to admire, but was not ſuffered to do ſo long; and at length, after about an hour and half's good walking, was told, that that was the oppoſite gate at which I was to go out and purſue my journey; he then clapped a couple of pence into my hand, and told me, that I muſt not venture back into the city under ſome ſevere puniſhment, and left me quite aſtoniſhed and unable to reply. As ſoon as I had recovered myſelf, I began to reflect on my extravagance and diſappointment in a moſt lively manner, but thought it beſt, however, to follow his advice, rather than expoſe myſelf to ſome ſhameful treatment, if I attempted to return. What increaſed my concern

cern was, the fear of finding the ſame method obſerved in every great city I came to, but, happily for me, it proved otherwiſe, and I not only went through them all without moleſtation, but ſtaid in ſome of them long enough to view every thing worth ſeeing, and to converſe with men of learning and piety, from whom I received ſome tokens of their generoſity.

The misfortune was, that my raſhneſs and vanity would not ſuffer me to keep within due bounds, but I muſt ſet myſelf off to the higheſt advantage, by pretending to greater merit and learning than was conſiſtent even with common prudence, as it expoſed me to the continual danger of a ſhameful diſcovery. I took notice heretofore how little progreſs I had made in the Greek tongue, rather through the ignorance and neglect of ſome of my teachers, than want of capacity or application, but now I pretended to be not only maſter of it, but likewiſe in ſome meaſure of the Hebrew, though I knew not a ſingle letter of the latter, and had only ſeen ſome Hebrew books belonging to the Jews of Avignon, by which I juſt could diſtinguiſh that from other characters; the truth is, that neither that nor any of the oriental tongues, nor even the Greek, were much ſtudied by the clergy; ſo I was not under any great danger on that account, though I own I have been

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ſometimes foiled at the latter, becauſe I commonly addreſſed myſelf to the prieſts, among whom I met, now and then, with one who underſtood it. I muſt alſo acknowledge that I found the generality of them very charitable, and ſome of them even generous, though it the more redounds to my ſhame, ſeeing neither the meanneſs of my garb, of which yet I was not a little aſhamed, nor the mortifying accidents that had happened to me, could prevail upon me to ſave a ſhilling towards buying any thing better. I had indeed ſome hopes to do ſo, as I came nearer to my father, but here I was again juſtly diſappointed; the two or three laſt provinces I was to paſs through, having been greatly impoveriſhed, and even laid waſte by the late war, ſo that I found the clergy here leſs rich and generous, and ſo great poverty reigned among the laity, that I had much ado to get ſufficient ſubſiſtence among them. I ſhould likewiſe obſerve here, that every town, or even village I came through, had a number of Lutherans and Calviniſts, who were ſtill in a worſe condition, inſomuch that their miniſters were obliged to keep ſome inn or alehouſe for ſubſiſtance; ſo that by that time I had reached my father I was quite pennyleſs and threadbare. I preſently, however, made myſelf known to him, though to his great ſurpriſe, not only on that account, but

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as it was ſuch an unexpected viſit, of which he had not had the leaſt notice given him, nor did at all dream of. The city where I met him being about three or four miles from his houſe, he clapped a ſmall piece in my hand, and directed me to a houſe where I might get ſome refreſhment, and towards night conducted me to his own home, which I was not a little ſurpriſed to find even meaner than our townſman had deſcribed to my mother and me. Here he bid me a freſh and moſt tender welcome, and expreſſed ſuch a viſible concern that he was not able to give me at leaſt as good entertainment as I had been uſed to with my mother, that I was hardly able to make him a proper anſwer.

And indeed the difference I found between the two places, the forlorn condition I ſaw myſelf in, the mean figure I made in an obſcure kind of village, my being now not only out of the way of any improvement, but in danger of loſing what I had got, afforded me ſuch a diſmal proſpect, that I could not eaſily conceal my uneaſineſs, and, in a little time, a more than ordinary deſire of returning to my old home, ſince this new one was in every reſpect ſo little inviting to me. He found it no leſs difficult to conceal his diſlike of my returning to my mother, and tried all he could to diſſuade me from it. He adviſed

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me to try my fortune at two or three neighbouring cities or univerſities, and I complied with his deſire, but found much greater diſcouragements than I could expect: firſt, the Jeſuits were the teachers in all of them, and I had ſtudied with the Dominicans, between whom and them there never was a right underſtanding, but rather quite the contrary. I was got into a new country, (Germany) where the pronunciation of the Latin differed ſo much from that I had been uſed to, that though no one could ſpeak it more fluently than I, I neither could underſtand them, nor make myſelf underſtood by them, without the greateſt difficulty. The country had been ſo ruined by the war, that thoſe few mendicant ſcholars that remained in thoſe univerſities *, might be rather ſaid to ſtarve than to ſubſiſt. My youth and ignorance of

* Moſt of the univerſities of Germany have a number of theſe mendicant ſtudents, who, as ſoon as the ſchool-hours are over, go along the ſtreets from houſe to houſe, ſinging ſome pious Latin verſes to excite people's charity, and, in ſome opulent cities, get enough to live well and comfortably, and to buy all the books that are neceſſary for them, by which means ſome of them become very learned men, and get to good preferment, but as it was quite otherwiſe in theſe, and, indeed, every city along the Rhine, quite down below the great city of Cologn (where the French forces had cauſed ſuch dreadful delapidations as could not be ſeen without horror); theſe univerſities had been long ſince forſaken by all thoſe mendicant ſtudents, who could no longer find means of ſubſiſting them And this I afterwards obſerved to be the caſe in every place where the French troops had been, as I may have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

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the German tongue, as well as my foreign pronunciation of the Latin and Greek, would likewiſe have diſqualified me for being a tutor in any family, had there been any in a condition to have maintained one; ſo that after all my efforts, which I rather tried out of obedience to my father, than any likely hopes I could have of ſucceſs, I returned to him *re infecta*, all which only ſerved to revive my deſires of returning to my mother. But he being ſtill as averſe to it as ever, bethought himſelf of a new way to diſſuade me from it, and with ſo much art at the ſame time, that I could not diſcover his aim. He had ſeen the greateſt part of Europe, and could give an extraordinary account of it; he underſtood ſeveral of its languages, particularly the Italian, French, Spaniſh and German, and expatiated much on the advantages he had gained by travelling; and expreſſed, at ſome diſtance, a deſire that I ſhould viſit ſeveral of thoſe countries I had not yet ſeen, particularly thoſe of Holland, Flanders, and Brabant, which he highly commended for their opulence, and the great number of learned men they produced, and expatiated much on their hoſpitality, generoſity, and fondneſs for men of parts and genius, and how greatly I might be admired and promoted there on account of my learning, knowledge of languages and ſciences, and for having already

ready travelled through ſo many conſiderable parts of the world, all which he ſaid was the more ſurpriſing, as I was ſtill ſo very young, for I was then hardly full ſixteen years old. He could not indeed have found a more effectual way than that of ſoothing my vanity, to make me give wholly into his views; and as to the objection of the want of money, conſidering how well acquainted I was with the way of travelling at free-coſt, he ſaid I could not but promiſe myſelf much better ſucceſs through thoſe countries, where the peoples generoſity was equal to their known opulence.

I was now (unknown to him) to think of ſome more cunning, ſafe, and effectual way of travelling than that I had followed in my two former journies; and ſince I found that my paſſing for an Iriſhman and a ſufferer for religion, did not only expoſe me to the danger of being diſcovered, but came ſhort of the merit and admiration I had expected from it, I reſolved on a new project, which, though equally hazardous, I had not ſenſe enough to foreſee, and tho' ſtill more diſhoneſt, I had not virtue enough to deter me from. I ſay, unknown to my father, for I had carefully concealed all the vile indirect pretences I had already uſed, and much more was I now obliged to do ſo, knowing him to be ſo upright and religious a man, that I ſhould not

not only have incurred his utmoſt anger, but that he would likewiſe have taken all poſſible means to have deterred me from, or diſappointed me in it. I recollected, that whilſt I was learning humanity, rhetoric and geography with the Jeſuits, I had heard them ſpeak of the Eaſt-Indies, China, Japan, &c. and expatiate much in praiſe of thoſe countries, and the ingenuity of the inhabitants. The idea they had given us of them was indeed too general and imperfect, at leaſt what I remembered of it, was by far too ſhort and confuſed, for a perſon of the leaſt prudence or forecaſt to have built ſuch a wild project upon, becauſe all the notion they had given us of it, was only from their maps and comments upon them, for they made uſe of geographical books. However, I was raſh enough to think, that what I wanted of a right knowledge of them, I might make up by the ſtrength of a pregnant invention, in which I flattered myſelf I might ſucceed the more eaſily, as I ſuppoſed they were ſo little known by the generality of Europeans, that they were only looked upon, in the lump, to be Antipodes to them in almoſt every reſpect, as religion, manners, dreſs, &c. This was my crude notion of the matter, which I thought afforded a vaſt ſcope to a fertile fancy to work upon, and I had no miſtruſt of myſelf on that head. I had likewiſe heard

that their way of writing differed very much from ours, but how, and in what, I was altogether ignorant, or had quite forgot it, and ſo took it into my head, that like the Hebrew, and other oriental tongues I had heard of, they muſt write from the right to the left, and on this puerile ſuppoſition, I ſet about excogitating of an alphabet that might anſwer my purpoſe. Another thing that ſhewed my inconſiderate folly was, that tho' I could not but know that the Greeks and Hebrews had particular names for their letters, it never came once into my head to imitate them in that, as I had in the figures, powers, &c. of ſome of the letters, on a ſuppoſition, that as they might flow originally from the ſame fountain, ſo they might be reaſonably imagined to retain ſtill ſome kind of reſemblance. The truth is, my time was ſhort, and knowledge in what I went about ſo very ſmall and confuſed, and what I did was by ſtealth, and fear of being detected by my father; that I was ſoon after made ſenſible of my want of forecaſt, when I came to converſe with proper judges, and found the neceſſity not only of inventing names for the letters, but to make ſeveral amendments to my wild ſcheme, as I became better acquainted with thoſe Eaſtern countries.

However, conſidering my tender years, ſmall experience, and other ſuch diſadvantages,

tages, I have had ſince no ſmall cauſe to wonder how I could excogitate not only ſuch an alphabet, and names of letters, but likewiſe many other particulars equally difficult, ſuch as a conſiderable piece of a new language and grammar, a new diviſion of the year into twenty months, a new religion, &c. and all out of my own head, in order to ſtuff them into that moſt abominable romance which I publiſhed ſoon after my coming into England, and which occaſioned ſuch variety of opinions concerning it, and its ſhameleſs author; ſome thinking it above the capacity of ſuch a young fellow to invent, and others believing it the reſult of long thought and contrivance. Alas, for me, my fancy was but too fertile and ready for all ſuch things, when I ſet about them, and when any queſtion has been ſtarted on a ſudden, about matters I was ever ſo unprepared for, I ſeldom found myſelf at a loſs for a quick anſwer, which, if ſatisfactory, I ſtored up in my retentive memory. But to return to my alphabet, as ſoon as I had finiſhed it to my mind, I began to inure my hand to write it with ſome readineſs, that it might upon occaſion appear natural to me, which I found the more difficult, as I never was expert at my pen, and was quite unuſed to this backward way of writing; and this obliged me to alter the form of ſome of them, for the

more eaſy tracing them with the pen, and to contrive ſome abbreviations and joining of letters, and other ſuch improvements for expedition, which done, I thought myſelf ſufficiently prepared for paſſing for a Japaneſe converted to Chriſtianity. The only difficulty was, how to reconcile this new and vile aſſumption with my Avignon certificate, which was not to be done but by copying it anew, and altering it where I ſaw fit, and clapping the ſeal from the original one to the counterfeit; but though I was ready enough at wording it to my mind, I wrote ſo indifferent a hand, that it could never paſs for that of a ſecretary of a vice-legate, and to have had it done by a better penman was to difficult and hazardous for me to venture. At length I thought it ſafeſt to truſt to my copying it as well as I could, with its flouriſhes and ornaments, though I did it in ſuch a coarſe and clumſy manner, that it would hardly have paſſed for a tolerable counterfeit. There was likewiſe another danger of a diſcovery from the different marks and make of the German and Avignon paper, but that never came then in my head; ſo that having made what alterations I thought proper in the tenor of the paſs, and clapping the old ſeal to it, I made no difficulty to truſt the reſt to fortune, and took a melancholy leave of my poor father, who ſhed abundance of

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tears over me, and wiſhed me all poſſible bleſſings and ſucceſs, not dreaming how little this new project of mine deſerved of either; and when I was got at ſome diſtance from him, I put on my old pilgrim's habit, and began my journey with a kind of heavy heart, according to the rout he had penned down for me, and which was quite oppoſite to that which would have brought me to my own home. I had, indeed, taken care to write to my anxious mother, and to acquaint her with what had paſſed between my father and me, and with my deſire of taking a tour into the Low Countries before I returned to her, but I had afterwards reaſon to fear, that the melancholy ſtyle in which it was worded, did rather increaſe than mitigate her concern for her now really worthleſs ſon; for, from that time, neither ſhe, nor yet my father, ever heard of me more, nor I of them, and, in all likelihood, both of them have bewailed my loſs at a much greater rate than I deſerved, if it did not prove the means of ſhortening their days.

The reader may ſee by all this, what a raſh and abandoned fellow I was, how loſt to all ſenſe of religion, nature and reaſon, and how I expoſed myſelf to ſo many dangers, over head and ears, to indulge a favourite paſſion, and without the leaſt proſpect of reaping any benefit from it, or even aim-

ing at it. However, this is nothing in compariſon of what is to follow, and it is rather a wonder that ſo bad a beginning, ſo ill concerted, and worſe followed, hath not had a more dreadful ending, and I can only aſcribe it to the undeſerved mercy of God, that it did not end in my total ruin of body and ſoul. And I muſt deſire the reader to bear ſtill in mind the conſideration of my tender years, and the diſadvantages of my wrong education, if he intends to read what is to follow with any tolerable patience, at leaſt till he comes to ſome more agreeable ſcenes: In the mean time, as I am now entering into One of the blackeſt ſhame and guilt, I ſincerely proteſt, that it is the fartheſt from my heart to aggravate or extenuate either, in order to render the following account more ſurprizing or agreeable, but to relate the whole with the ſame ſincerity, as I ſhould be willing to do it, or wiſh it to have been done, at my laſt moments. And I hope I ſhall be the more readily believed, as I do not deſign to have it printed till after my death, when all ſiniſter views will be quite taken away, and nothing be able to yield any ſatisfaction on the other ſide of the grave, but the conſciouſneſs of its ſincerity, eſpecially conſidering that I ſhall leave neither children nor relations to reap any benefit from this narrative. But to return to my propoſed rout:

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I was at firſt to viſit all the conſiderable cities on both ſides of the Rhine, as they lay in my way to that of Cologn, whither I pretended to go on a religious pilgrimage to the three kings, whoſe remains are ſaid to be there interred in the cathedral*, to which there is a great reſort of devotees almoſt all the year: for the Germans are equally fond of pilgrims that come to any of their great ſaints, as the Italians are of thoſe that come to Rome or Loretto, or the Spaniards to thoſe that go to St. Jago de Compoſtella; ſo that I did not doubt of meeting with a kind reception wherever I came. I ſhall not take up the reader's time in deſcribing the places I came through, that being much better done in books of travels; but only obſerve, that I found them all in a moſt diſmal plight, moſt of the fine buildings ruinated, noble palaces with only the bare walls, half demoliſhed, cathedrals, and other ſtately churches, built

* Thoſe were the wiſe men that came to worſhip our Infant Saviour, and are, by the church of Rome, ſtiled kings, and pretended to have been only three, whom they call Gaſpar, Melchior and Balthazar, the legend adds, that upon their being warned not to return to Jeruſalem, they took the way to Cologn, and died, and were buried there. Their heads are expoſed in a ſtately ſhrine behind the great altar every Wedneſday, and they ſhew you the gate by the Rhine ſide, at which it is pretended they came in by, and which hath been ſince walled. This Cathedral doth likewiſe contain a number of other relicks, and miraculous pictures to feed the devotion of the vulgar, and bring a conſtant concourſe of people thither.

of the fineſt marble and other coſtly ſtones finely carved, battered half down, and nothing left fit for divine ſervice but the choir or chancel, which in many places were quite unroofed, and only thatched with ſtraw. All the reſt appeared in a ſtill more woeful condition, wherever the conquering arms of Lewis XIV. had penetrated, for this was but a few years after the peace of Reſwick, ſo that they had not had time to recover themſelves from theſe dreadful ravages.

An accident happened to me before I had gone far, which, had I been leſs raſh and inconſiderate, might have deterred me from purſuing my ſham pilgrimage farther. It was at the city of Landau, garriſoned by the French, and commanded by an old experienced officer, and was then a very ſtrong place, and the laſt town they had in Alſace. The familiarity I was obſerved to carry on with ſome of the inferior officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon, who were pleaſed with the whimſical account I gave of myſelf and my pretended country, made me ſuſpected of being a ſpy, and as ſuch I was accordingly conducted by a file of muſqueteers to the governor, who, not being ſatisfied with my account, ordered me to be ſent to gaol, where I was at firſt confined in a noiſome place for ſome hours, but afterwards admitted to the liberty of the priſon till the next day,

day, when I was conducted in the ſame manner out of the city, and forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, to return into it *. This dreadful eſcape might, one would think, have opened my eyes to ſee the folly and danger of my ill-concerted ſcheme, as well as reminded me of my promiſe of returning to my poor anxious mother, if I did not think fit to ſtay with my father. But my religion and prudence were much of a piece, juſt ſufficient to make me apply myſelf to heaven in time of danger, which was no ſooner blown over, but I as quickly forgot what I owed to either, except that I looked on myſelf as obliged to aſſiſt at the church offices, ſuch as maſs, veſpers, &c. as often as opportunity offered, which I continued doing till a more wicked and abominable project made me leave it off. Theſe particulars may perhaps be thought too trifling to

* In that fabulous account I gave of myſelf, prefixed to the hiſtory of Formoſa, I pretended to have been ſeized here for taking a plan of the fortifications of the place, which was abſolutely falſe, for though I had done ſo more than once in my native country, where I could give no umbrage, I was not ſo ſtupid as to do ſo in this, neither was it conſiſtent with my ſcheme to pretend to any ſkill in drawing and fortifications However, as to the governor of the place it is moſt likely that my youth and ſimplicity moved his pity more than any credit he could give to what I ſaid for myſelf, for excepting my making a longer ſtay in it than is uſual for pilgrims, there had been nothing ſaid or done by me that could give the jealouſy of my being a ſpy.

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my readers to be worthy inſerting, but to me they appear in a quite other light, and do but too plainly ſhew how naturally one miſcarriage draws on a worſe, where religion and reaſon have unhappily loſt their influence, or yielded it to a predominant and ungovernable paſſion, and how eaſily the indulging of it will, by degrees, come to quench all remorſe and conviction, and unleſs the Divine Grace interpoſes, hurry a man into utter perdition. And as no man hath more ſenſibly felt the ſad effects of the one, as well as the bleſſed ones of the other, what can I do leſs than acknowledge and adore that divine and undeſerved mercy, to which alone I owe ſo great, and I hope, effectual deliverance? And what cauſe have I not to be, to the higheſt degree, thankful that I had ſuch early impreſſions of religion inculcated into my mind, and which tho' ſuppreſſed and ſmothered for a long time, by the violence of a favourite vice, did yet, in God's own time, bring me into a ſenſe and abhorrence of my paſt follies, and, in ſome meaſure, drove me from the moſt dreadful danger into the arms of a merciful and forgiving Saviour, and that in ſo wonderful and unhoped for a manner, that it was impoſſible for me to attribute the bleſſed change to any thing but to a ſupernatural grace and mercy?

I ſhall,

I ſhall, however, in the ſequel, be more ſuccinct, eſpecially in my account of what happened to me from Landau, to the fatal time in which I was unwarily drawn into the moſt abandoned piece of impoſture, that of my pretended converſion to Chriſtianity by Dr. James, then chaplain to a Scotch regiment garriſoned at Sluys; for to mention all thoſe particulars would not only appear a moſt ſtupid and tedious, but an almoſt incredible ſeries of the moſt unaccountable follies and diſaſters that any raſh youth could fall into. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that I travelled ſeveral hundred leagues through Germany, Brabant and Flanders, under the notion of a Japaneſe converted to Chriſtianity by ſome jeſuit miſſionaries, and brought to Avignon, by them to be farther inſtructed, as well as to avoid the dreadful puniſhment inflicted on all that turn Chriſtians in the dominions of the emperor of Japan. In purſuance of which ſhameful pretence, I kept up an outward form or religion, was frequent at church, and was ſometimes affected with thoſe duties, and, at other times, pinched with a tranſient remorſe and ſhame at the conſciouſneſs of the wicked part I was then acting My fluency in the Latin tongue, and ſmattering of other branches of learning, eſpecially logic, philoſophy and theology, of which my tenacious memory ſtill preſerved

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ſome of the moſt curious parts, joined to the flagrant account I gave of myſelf, procured me, indeed, more regard and a greater ſhare of beneficence, than was commonly ſhewed to other travellers or pilgrims, but my careleſſneſs and extravagance not ſuffering me to lay out any money in dreſs, or even linen, to keep me clean and decent, I, by degrees, made ſo diſmal and ſhabby an appearance, that I outdid the very common beggars, and this misfortune brought on worſe upon me. For firſt, it gave ſuch an ill face and diſcredit to all my pretences, as all my learning could not counterbalance, and 2dly, when I came into ſome conſiderable cities, which I was deſirous to ſee, and where they have hoſpitals for pilgrims and ſtrangers, with ſuitable accommodations according to their rank, appearance, or recommendation, I ſhewed, in vain, my counterfeit paſs, which, if I had been in a better trim, would, from the advantageous manner in which I had dreſſed it, have procured a much better reception; thoſe who attend on ſuch occaſions would ſeldom give themſelves the trouble of reading it, though I begged of them ſo to do, but, taking it for granted, that I was one of the loweſt rank, or deſerving it to be treated as ſuch, did generally herd me among the meaneſt, by which I ſaw myſelf in a ſhort time covered with rags and vermin, and infected

fected with a moſt virulent itch. This diſmal plight, one would have thought ſufficient to rouſe me from my ſenſeleſs lethargy, and make me follow the example of the returning prodigal, eſpecially, as I found, to my great mortification, that all my fair ſhew of learning, made me appear now only the more deſpicable in the eyes of the ſoberer part; for how could even thoſe, who gave any credit to what I told them, forbear ſuppoſing that I muſt have been guilty of ſome great enormity, or elſe the Jeſuits, by whom I pretended to have been brought out of Japan into Avignon, would never have given me up to ſo ſhameful a vagabond life; and no doubt but the far greater part believed it all a forgery, though they did not think it worth the while to have me called to an account for it. Thus did I find my affairs grow from bad to worſe, inſomuch that I was often pinched with want, and glad would I have been to have returned home to my mother; but the thought of my preſent condition would not permit me to think of it, and, perhaps, I could have preferred any death to ſo great a mortification as it would have been both to her and me. I have, however, had reaſon to think it a mercy that I had ſuch an inveterate itch, added to all my other misfortunes, for I perceived that in ſeveral great cities of Brabant and Flanders, there are a

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ſort of procureſſes, who wander about the ſtreets under the character of Begines*, and pick up all the likely fellows they meet with, in order to make a lewd trade of them; and I being then very young, ſanguine, and likely in perſon, have now and then been invited and led by them in a ſeeming hoſpitable manner, to ſome charitable ladies to receive, as was pretended, ſome token of their generoſity, but, in reality, to return a leſs commendable one to the benefactreſs. But my diſtemper, whether or no it was imagined to be of a worſe kind than it was, proved ſuch a diſguſtful bar, that I never was put to the trial, otherwiſe I am ſure neither my virtue nor prudence would have been proof againſt it; for though I was then abſolutely innocent of any criminal commerce with any of the ſex, yet, circumſtanced as I was, I have reaſon to believe I ſhould eaſily have yielded at any hazard, and this further conſideration made me ſtill more weary of my wretchedneſs.

* The true Begines are a good ſort of unmarried women, who dedicate themſelves to works of charity, but inſtead of being cloiſtered up like the nuns, viſit the houſes of the poorer ſort, and procure them all proper relief from the charitable rich. They likewiſe extend their care to the ſick, lame, priſoners and ſtrangers, and are known by a particular plain dreſs, not unlike that of the nuns But there are alſo many vile women, who, under the cloak of that dreſs and character, carry on the trade of procureſſes, and are but too commonly encouraged and ſupported in it by the profligate rich and great.

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I was at length come to the celebrated city of Liege, and ſtayed ſome time there, to view all the curioſities of the place, and at night took up my lodging at the hoſpital, where we were likewiſe allowed ſome kind of ſupper. There I was informed that an officer was arrived at one of the ſuburbs belonging to the Dutch, who enliſted people into the Dutch ſervice, and gave good encouragement to ſuch vagrants as appeared fit to carry a muſket. I had no great hopes that I ſhould paſs muſter with him, being both too young and ſhort, as I thought, for his purpoſe: however, I reſolved to try, and ſoon perſuaded half a dozen of my fellow ragamuffins to follow me; but as nobody could have a greater averſion than I to a ſoldier's life, by what I had ſeen at my native place, where was always kept a ſtrong garriſon, I began to wiſh I might meet with a repulſe. The reſt were preſently inliſted by the pretended officer, for he only bought them to ſell them again; but when he came to me, and had heard my patched-up ſtory, inſtead of ſeeming diſcouraged from taking ſuch a raw and tender boy, he really, to my great ſurprize, ſhewed me an uncommon regard, tho' I made the worſt figure of any of his recruits; and I could by no means conceive the reaſon of it till near a month after, during

during which time we were well entertained at an inn, wanting for neither victuals nor drink. He ſoon obſerved me to be averſe to ſtrong liquors, and indulged me in it. At length, having ſold away all his recruits but me, he began to tell me that he had too great a regard for me, to ſend me with them to carry a brown muſket, and that he deſigned ſomething better for me, and more ſuitable to my education; but that he muſt firſt try to get me cured of the ſcabious diſeaſe, which by that time had ſpread itſelf all over my ſkin. Accordingly he tried all proper medicines, got me phyſicked, anointed, blooded, bathed, &c. but without ſucceſs. Being at length obliged to return to his then home, he got me handſomely equipt, and took me to Aix-la-Chapelle, where I found he kept a grand coffee-houſe, and billiards, and other games, in the moſt handſome part of the city, over-againſt the town-hall, and here I was to wait on the cuſtomers, and to teach a boy of his to read, &c.

I have reaſon to believe that my new-maſter had conceived hopes that I ſhould bring a good number of cuſtomers to his houſe; and, as for myſelf, I expected to find no ſmall ſatisfaction in being ſeen, and ſuffered to diſplay my parts among them. But we found ourſelves both diſappointed, in a great meaſure, becauſe, tho' it was then the heighth

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of the ſeaſon for drinking the waters, and the town was full of people, yet the greateſt part of them were ſeldom to be ſeen any where but at the pump, and the walks about it, and theſe were at another and diſtant part of the town; ſo that there was hardly any reſorted to his coffee-houſe, except gentlemen that came thither to ſpend an hour or two at billiards, backgammon, baſſet, or ſome other game, and theſe were men of little or no taſte for learning, except two or three French refugees, who appeared to me to be profeſſed gameſters. Theſe, and now and then ſome German gentlemen, that dropped in by chance, would condeſcend to divert themſelves with my company, queſtion me about variety of things, and hold an argument with me about ſome curious or inſtructing ſubject, and at their going away commonly left ſome marks of their generoſity, which, however, my maſter gave me to underſtand, I was to be contented with ſuch a ſhare of as he ſhould pleaſe to allow me.

Beſides his coffee-houſe, he furniſhed the balls, and other places of that reſort, with lemonade, orgeat, and other cooling liquors proper for the ſeaſon, as well as with variety of drams for ſuch as liked them. And here it was that I beheld the beau monde in ſuch extraordinary ſplendor, as was like to have

been of the moſt fatal conſequence to me, and to have drove me to the moſt deſperate piece of folly and madneſs that a man in his ſenſes could have been guilty of, and which I ſhall forbear mentioning, merely for the ill impreſſion it might be apt to make on ſome weak and ſceptical minds; but which, while I live, I ſhall never forget, nor ceaſe bleſſing the divine mercy which kept me back from it. And it was well for me that I was ſent thither but once more, tho' another man he kept, much older and fitter for the buſineſs, was obliged to give daily attendance there; and I can only think that my cuticular diſeaſe, which diſplayed itſelf too viſibly in my hands, was the cauſe why I was ſo ſeldom ſent hither.

Before the ſeaſon was over, my maſter, who had other irons in the fire, was obliged to go to Spa, ſome German leagues from Aix-la-Chapelle, for a fortnight, during which time a great nobleman, at leaſt one who paſſed for ſuch there, had run himſelf pretty deep in his debt, by ſome grand entertainments he had given on ſeveral occaſions; and it was now whiſpered about, that he was juſt on the point of diſappearing. My miſtreſs, upon the firſt hint of it, told me I muſt immediately ſet out and fetch her huſband. The time was ſo ſhort, and

and the way ſo long and difficult, conſidering that I was to go on foot, that there was ſcarcely any probability of my reaching the place time enough, and much leſs ſo, conſidering I was a ſtranger to the road and to the language, that I would have willingly excuſed myſelf from it, and have perſuaded her to have diſpatched a man and horſe to him; but ſhe was a haughty dame, and above being adviſed, ſo that I was forced to comply, though without any hopes of getting there time enough, in which caſe it would be of no ſervice to him, eſpecially if I ſhould chance to loſe my way, of which there was ſo much the more danger, as it was very intricate, and I knew not a ſtep of it, nor how to be informed about it, for want of the German tongue. And indeed, though I took all the care I could, I found before I was got half way to the place, that it would be impoſſible for me to avoid being ſo often out, through the various windings and turnings, and croſs-roads I frequently met with, that I deſpaired of reaching it in double the time. The anxiety and fear I was in was ſo great, about the reception I ſhould meet with, both from him and her for my ſucceeding ſo ill, that I began to think of preventing it, by giving them both the ſlip. My heart, however, heſitated a good while,

and upbraided me with the ingratitude and injuſtice I was going to be guilty of, as likewiſe with the danger I might incur, ſhould I be caught afterwards by him; for in ſuch a caſe, I muſt have expected nothing leſs than the higheſt marks of his reſentment. But when I conſidered, on the other hand, that all my care and diligence could not bring me to him time enough, and that I ſhould be ill treated for that which I could not avoid, I preferred a diſtant danger to one ſeemingly at hand; and being then juſt going to croſs a high road, which I was told led to the city of Cologn, immediately took to it, with a reſolution to return to my father, and then to my mother, by the ſame way I had formerly gone. This laſt conſideration was then ſtrong with me, as it revived in my mind the concern and grief they muſt be in about me, eſpecially my poor mother, who had heard nothing from me ſince that melancholy letter I ſent to her upon leaving my father. The thoughts of ſeeing again two ſuch dear parents, had ſo enlivened me, that it had in a great meaſure effaced all other reflections, particularly the remorſe of my ingratitude to my late maſter. But here I was again diſappointed, not only of that happineſs, but even from the very proſpect and hopes of it, and that juſtly

juſtly too, and by my own ſtupid folly. And ſince the Divine Providence had ſo wonderfully delivered me from the dangers and miſeries of a ſoldier's life, by inſpiring my maſter with ſentiments, whether of gain or pity, or both, and I had made ſuch ungrateful returns, both to God and him, it was but juſt I ſhould plunge myſelf into the miſery and danger I was ſo unworthy to eſcape.

I had already paſſed through Cologn, and Bon the reſidence of the elector of Cologn, and got to another city of his electorate likewiſe on the Rhine, when upon my entering it at one of the gates, I was accoſted by a perſon genteelly dreſſed, who, among ſeveral other queſtions, aſked me, if I was willing to enter into that elector's ſervice, and uſed ſome of the uſual topicks to induce me to it. I was ſurpriſed at his queſtion, and readily enough anſwered in the negative, but was ſoon after perſuaded by him to accept his offer, tho' without the leaſt force or circumvention, and merely by my own weakneſs and ſtupidity, or rather ſome judicial fatality, for nothing leſs than that, I ſhould think, could have made me alter the laudable reſolution I had taken, or ſo eaſily ſet aſide the thoughts of reviſiting and reviving two ſuch dear and afflicted parents once more, after I was got ſo far

in the way to it; but this was not the only misfortune that attended this raſh and unnatural action, which rather proved the fatal ſource of new ſcenes of miſeries and wickedneſs.

The liberty that is commonly granted to ſoldiers to ſwear, game, drink, whore, &c. is very great among the Germans, and much more among the French; theſe laſt may be juſtly affirmed to be the moſt profligate of any I ever have known or read of. There is no crime or lewdneſs they will not commit, no oaths or curſes ſo terrible they will not delight in. They ſeem deſtitute of all ſenſe of religion and ſhamefacedneſs, and ſo wholly careleſs about a future ſtate, that I have ſeen many of them go to the gallows for deſertion with as much unconcern, and ſome of them with a ſeeming jocundity, as if they were mounting the guard, and not one of them did I ever obſerve to ſhew the leaſt ſign or repentance, fear of death, or concern about another life. Thoſe we had in this regiment were, if poſſible, ſtill worſe, being moſtly deſerters from the French ſervice, and to the laſt degree profligate: and if there was any one among them that was more ſoberly or religiouſly inclined, he was ſure to become the object of their ſcorn and contempt, and to be baited like ſome wicked or monſtrous

ſtrous creature, a vaſt number of which we had in this regiment; and theſe, coming to be intermixed with a number of raw young German recruits, taken ſome from the plough and cart, others from their trades, and ſome even from the univerſities, did debauch them into all manner of wickedneſs. This was the unhappy herd I was now got among, and whoſe company and example compleated my ruin, by extinguiſhing thoſe few faint traces of religion I had left. I was indeed neither inclined to drinking nor gaming, and was not hardened enough in impudence to follow them in their lewdneſs; but was bad enough, nevertheleſs, to indulge myſelf, in order to appear as vile and abandoned as they, in a ſhameful habit of uttering ſuch new and faſhionable oaths, and monſtrous curſes, as I had lately rather heard with horror, than learned, at Aix-la-Chapelle; and as I was ſtill as ambitious as ever to paſs for a Japoneſe, choſe to profeſs myſelf an unconverted or heatheniſh one, rather than what I had then pretended to be, a convert to Chriſtianity. My vanity ſoon made me begin to make an aukward jeſt and ridicule of the moſt ſolemn and ſacred truths of the Goſpel, and to take a brutiſh delight at the ſurprize which the more ſober people of the town I converſed with, expreſſed at my

blaſphemous and prophane expreſſions and objections, as well as in the pleaſure I obſerved this gave to my fellow-ſoldiers, or rather fellow-brutes.

As the former had obſerved me to be, in all other reſpects, a ſober young fellow, given to no vice; and found me likewiſe maſter of ſome ſenſe and learning, they began to expreſs an uncommon paſſion for me, and, believing me a heathen indeed, propoſed to me to enter the liſts with ſome of their learned prieſts or monks, who, they doubted not, would eaſily convince me of my error and danger; tho' they themſelves had not been able to do it. It can hardly be doubted, but ſuch a vain abandoned fellow as I was, would readily accept the offer. To have declined, would have betrayed a diffidence I was not capable of; ſo that I pleaſed myſelf with having a fair opportunity of diſplaying my parts and learning againſt my antagoniſts, and either to ſtand proof againſt all their arguments, or yield myſelf convinced by them, according as I ſhould find it ſuit beſt with my vanity or intereſt; for if I found it worth my while to chuſe the latter, I thought I ſhould appear to the world as a convert of uncommon ſize, and gain no ſmall applauſe by it. There was but one thing could make me heſitate about it, viz. the horrid guilt

guilt I ſhould plunge myſelf into by ſuch a vile piece of hypocriſy, and I own it made ſome impreſſion upon my mind; but it proved ſhort-lived, and my own ſanguine temper ſoon got the maſtery of it, and I at length conſented to be introduced to a Capuchin of that city, who was eſteemed a man of great piety as well as learning, and who had been appriſed before of the intended viſit, and the purport of it.

When we came to the monaſtery, we found the good old capuchin ſitting on a bench, in an outward room of it, facing the gate, with a luſty young woman kneeling before him, barking like a dog, and making a great many other antick noiſes and poſtures; upon which I was told that ſhe was poſſeſſed, and that the good father was exorciſing the evil ſpirit out of her. Whether ſhe was then ſent for on purpoſe, or came by accident, I know not, but I remembred to have ſeen her at ſome proceſſions, and once or twice at church, in the ſame unaccountable attitudes; and, as I was then weak enough to think it a real poſſeſſion, from her extravagant actions and words, I began to fear, ſo great is the power of guilt on ſome occaſions, that the devil might either expoſe me for the vile part I was then acting, or perhaps do me ſome other and worſe miſchief, as he had formerly

formerly done to thoſe vagabond exorciſts of whom we read Acts xix. 16. to avoid which I withdrew as ſoon as I decently could, as if to leave him to go on with his exorciſm. Whether he took it in this ſenſe or not, I know not; but at our next meeting, when ſhe was out of the way, he took occaſion from thence to prove the truth of the Chriſtian religion in general, and of the church of Rome in particular; and that her prieſts alone have the power of caſting out devils. I told him, with a ſmile, that it would be time enough to inſiſt on the miracle, or enquire into the reality of it, when it was actually performed; to which he replied, with an air of great pity and ſerioufneſs, that God did frequently permit ſuch poor creatures to be tormented for ſome time, before he vouchſafed them a deliverance; but that tho' exorciſms and prayers would not avail till then, yet they were obliged in charity to make uſe of them, in hopes that they would one time or other prove ſucceſsful.

As we came to enter into other arguments, I found that the good old Capuchin was better provided for a controverſy againſt Proteſtants than againſt heathens, which gave me no ſmall advantage againſt him; and this I took with ſuch an aſſuming air, and lightneſs of mind, that could not but

but be diſpleaſing to him; this was ſo natural to me, that I never could forbear diſplaying it upon all ſuch occaſions, and no wonder if it gave them great cauſe to think me either not ſerious enough for the momentouſneſs of the diſpute, or perhaps rather that I was nothing leſs than what I pretended to be. I cannot indeed recollect, that any thing like this laſt was their real judgment of me, from any thing that dropped from them, though it was but too viſible to be the caſe, if their charity did not blind their judgment in my favour; however, I could ſee plainly enough from their uneaſineſs, that they were not likely to be very forward in repeating our conferences, and I was vain enough to impute it to my being an overmatch for them in the diſpute. And it was in the ſame vain-boaſting ſtrain, that I affirmed in that fabulous account I gave of myſelf in England, that I was diſcharged out of that ſervice for being a heathen, and for refuſing to yield to the arguments of thoſe who had attempted to convert me. The aſſumption was abſolutely falſe, and I was diſcharged by order of the colonel, becauſe I was not only below the ſtandard, but alſo too tender for the fatigues of a ſoldier's life. And indeed I cannot expreſs the miſeries we underwent in the ſervice of that prince, who was then

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ſo eminently poor, that great numbers of his troops periſhed for want of cloaths, fewel, and even of bread; and had I not been treated with greater care and tenderneſs than moſt of the reſt were, muſt inevitably have periſhed in a very hard winter at Bon, where, beſides the want of all other neceſſaries, the greateſt part of the garriſon were quartered in barracks open to all winds and weather, and forced to lie on the bare boards.

Being thus happily diſcharged from ſo dreadful a ſlavery, it was natural for me to think once more of returning to my long-wiſhed-for home, at any rate, and at all hazards; but here likewiſe my ill fate had laid an unexpected obſtacle, which it was not in my power to remove; for my late captain, a ſordid wretch, who had been raiſed to his poſt from that of a common centinel, by the baſeſt means, had taken thoſe cloaths I had brought from Aix-la-Chapelle, under his care, and, as he pretended, to prevent my ſelling them, and ſpending the money; but upon my being diſcharged, refuſed to reſtore them to me, though he ſtripped me of my ammunition ones, and had the conſcience to ſend me away in the heart of a ſevere winter, with a bare looſe old frock of blue linen, and without waiſtcoat or ſhoes to my feet, for

thoſe

thoſe he gave me were ſo worn out that my feet touched the ground, ſo that I could never have travelled far before the hardneſs of the weather would have made an end of me. This made me reſolve to go back to Cologn, and try how far my diſmal plight and fluent tongue would work upon peoples charity; but it being then war-time, I was ſtopped, as is uſual in garriſoned cities, at the gate, and conducted to the main guard, to give an account of myſelf to the officer then on duty. I did ſo, and lighted on a perſon, who was really a gentleman, and took ſuch liking to me, that I liſted myſelf in his company, and was preſently after ſupplied with cloaths fitter for the ſeaſon. I paſſed to him for a Japoneſe and a heathen, and was entered in his company under the name of Salmanazar, which, ſince my coming into England, I altered, by the addition of a letter or two, to make it ſomewhat different from that mentioned in the book of Kings, but whether my new captain believed what I told him or not, I became no ſmall favourite of his. He was a man of good ſenſe, ſpoke Latin and French well, and had ſome good ſcholars in his company, one or two of them of the church of Rome, whereas the regiment conſiſted moſtly of Lutherans, it belonging

belonging to the Duke of Mecklenburg; but was then in the Dutch pay, and garriſoned at Cologn.

That great city is, perhaps, one of the moſt ſuperſtitious in all Germany; every ſtreet and every houſe hath the ſtatue or image of ſome ſaint or other, to which they light candles at night, but moſtly to that of the Virgin Mary. Our Lutherans, in ſpight of all prohibitions from the magiſtracy, could not forbear ſhewing their diſlike and contempt to theſe, and many other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms they beheld, and were ſometimes puniſhed for it. Yet did not this deter me from taking pride in outdoing them, though I was ſo far from having the ſame laudable pretence for it, that in my heart I condemned them for their untimely zeal, and myſelf for my impious vanity. We had likewiſe ſeveral looſe gentlemen brought up in ſome of the beſt univerſities, who had been prevailed upon to exchange their gowns and books for a muſket; ſome of them were Proteſtants, others Papiſts, and with theſe our chief officers delighted to ſet me on diſputing, by which I had gained their ill will ſo far, as I generally proved too hard for them, that they had ſtigmatized me with the titles of heathen, infidel, unbaptized, and the like; but theſe, inſtead of giving

giving me any uneaſineſs or remorſe, rather ſoothed my pride, and made me now and then, upon a proper occaſion, take delight to remind them that I could give better reaſons for my being ſo, than they could for themſelves. My captain thinking that our chaplain, who had been brought up a regular clergyman in the Lutheran way, might ſucceed better with me, propoſed a conference to him; but he being a baſhful young gentleman, modeſtly declined, and contented himſelf with expoſing the folly and abſurdity of the heatheniſh religion in ſome of his ſermons, where he had a large field to expatiate on, without the danger of oppoſition. I was afterwards introduced to two others, one who ſerved the Lutheran meeting at Cologn (for they tolerate Proteſtant meetings in time of war for the uſe of the garriſon, though they ſhut them up in time of peace) and the other a man of great learning, at a ſmall diſtance from the city. Our diſputes proved but of ſhort duration, I always attacking them upon ſuch points, as I knew they were the leaſt able to defend, but by Scripture, which I pretended not to believe, but urged even thoſe very points, ſuch as the Trinity, Conſubſtantion, &c. as arguments againſt it; and this, as well as my

vain

vain and aſſuming behaviour, might eaſily raiſe a diſlike, if not more likely, a miſtruſt of me. One thing I had occaſion to obſerve, that where Papiſts and Proteſtants are ſo intermingled, their guides are better ſtored with arguments againſt each other, than againſt the common enemies of the Chriſtian faith.

From Cologn we were ordered into Holland by the next ſpring, and began to encamp as ſoon as the campaign began. The Lutherans and Calviniſts had prayers morning and night at the head of every regiment, and a ſermon on Sundays, and I was vain enough to go from one to the other to obſerve their method of devotion, and ſinging of pſalms and hymns, at which they both behaved with great ſeriouſneſs: but as for me, after liſtening awhile to them, I was commonly driven by my raſhneſs and vanity to turn my back to them, and turning my face to the riſing or ſetting ſun, to make ſome aukward ſhew of worſhip, or praying to it, and was no leſs pleaſed to be taken notice of for ſo doing. This vain fit grew up to ſuch a height, that I made me a little book with figures of the ſun, moon and ſtars, and ſuch other imagery as my phrenſy ſuggeſted to me, and filled the reſt with a kind of gibberiſh proſe and verſe,

verſe, written in my invented character, and which I muttered or chanted as often as the humour took me.

I have often juſtly wondered at the ſingular goodneſs of God to ſuch a vile abandoned wretch as I was become by this time, that in neither regiment, in which I had continued, as I remember, about two years, during which a ſharp and ſevere war was carried on with equal fierceneſs, it never was my lot to be commanded to a ſiege, battle, party, ſkirmiſh, or place of danger, in which I might have been ſuddenly cut off in the midſt of a moſt impious career; or, what is equally ſurpriſing, that the apprehenſion of ſo dreadful an end, ſhould not have deterred me from ſo ſenſeleſs and wicked a courſe, and made me feel the monſtrous ſtupidity of running ſuch deſperate hazards of body and ſoul, for the ſake of a little popular admiration at the beſt; but, inſtead of which, I have more frequently met with mortification and contempt. But I was ſtill very young, to the beſt of my remembrance not above eighteen, if quite ſo much; my mind miſguided by a wrong education, as I have before obſerved; conſcious of my own want of any real merit, and yet fond to exceſs for any kind of pretence to it; and ſo deſirous of

being admired and taken notice of, that, rather than have foregone that favourite paſſion, I would have choſen to indulge it, I verily believe at that time, at the hazard and expence of being looked upon as the very vileſt fellow that ever lived. As for thoſe impreſſions of religion which I had ſo ſtrongly imbibed in my youth, they gradually loſt their influence in proportion to my giving way to that deſtructive paſſion, and, at the beſt, were more in my head than in my heart, till it pleaſed the divine grace to tranſplant them thither, as the propereſt ſoil for their fructifying; but this bleſſing did not come down to me till after ſeveral years, and a variety of ſcenes of impiety and guilt. I ſhall paſs by the other occurrences of my ſoldier's life, to come to that fatal one which proved the ſource of new and more horrid offences againſt God and man.

The laſt garriſon I came to was at Sluys, where was a French and a Scotch regiment in the Dutch pay. There I ſoon became acquainted with ſeveral of the French officers, whoſe language I perfectly underſtood; but as I was wholly unacquainted with the Scotch and Engliſh, and few of them could ſpeak Latin, I could not be ſo converſant with them. I found moſt of thoſe French gentlemen very

very ſuperficial, and did not a little indulge my vanity in ridiculing their tenets, whether they were Papiſts or Proteſtants, for there was a mixture of them, and had occaſion to obſerve (tho' to my ſhame, had I had the leaſt ſenſe of the vile part I played) that, tho' the greater number of them were given to ſuch flagrant vices as are but too common among gentlemen of that profeſſion; yet they all appeared ſo firmly attached to the tenets of their particular churches, that they expreſſed much more uneaſineſs at thoſe ſarcaſms I uſed to throw out, than they did at the moſt dreadful oaths they commonly ſwore, or any vices that reigned among them. And as I ſtill kept myſelf untainted from the latter, and had long ago broke myſelf of that horrid one of ſwearing, which I had taken up on my firſt entrance into the ſoldier's life (not ſo much indeed out of a principle of religion, as from an ambition I had of paſſing for a moral heathen) I frequently uſed to obſerve to them the unreaſonableneſs of their untimely zeal, which made them ſo readily condemn me for what they called my irreligious ſarcaſms, which yet were but agreeable to my notions and belief, whilſt they indulged themſelves in vices, ſuch as duelling, wenching, ſwearing, and drinking, which

were not only incompatible with theirs, but ſuch as, bad as they thought me, I could not on any conſideration be guilty of. Theſe kinds of ſevere rebukes ought, I ſay, to have filled me with the deepeſt ſenſe of my own more vile and abominable inconſiſtency; but as that did not ſo openly appear, the applauſes I received from the ſober part, and even from ſome of the miniſters, for ſo ſtrenuouſly pleading the cauſe of virtue, made me quite blind to my more odious vices; ſo that as long as the character or ſhadow of moral virtue procured me ſo much regard and eſteem, I never troubled myſelf about the want of the real ſubſtance.

Brigadier Lauder, a Scottiſh gentleman, well reſpected, and colonel of a regiment in that garriſon, was then governor, and, unhappily for me, conceived a curioſity of ſeeing me at his own houſe, where were aſſembled ſeveral officers, beſides the miniſter of the French church, and Mr. Innes, chaplain to the Scottiſh regiment; and after dinner I was admitted to have a kind of conference with them. I own, indeed, that the account I gave of it in that publiſhed romance of mine, was far enough from candid or impartial, with reſpect to the French miniſter, who was the chief manager in the diſpute, my uſual vanity

vanity having made me relate it too much to his diſadvantage, and Mr. Innes, between whom and that gentleman there was a great miſunderſtanding, added ſome other particulars, equally miſrepreſented and mortifying, but, abating that, the reſt is the trueſt part I can call to mind in that forged narrative of myſelf. However, Mr. Innes, ſince dubbed doctor by one of the Scotch Univerſities, and a near relation to the governor, would not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of triumphing over his rival, and finding that I had nonpluſſed him at almoſt every argument, but more particularly againſt that of abſolute predeſtination, took occaſion to inform me that it was a doctrine as much condemned by ſome, as it was ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by other churches, and that conſequently Chriſtianity, he would undertake to prove, was not to be charged with it. He had a much ſmoother and leſs overbearing way of ſpeaking than the other gentleman, and kindly invited me to his lodgings, where we might, at our leiſure, diſcuſs that or any other points in diſpute, not doubting but a perſon of my ſenſe, learning, and ſeeming candor (as he was pleaſed to compliment my vanity) would eaſily yield to conviction, when the point was

once cleared to my ſatisfaction, as he did not doubt he ſhould ſhortly do.

I readily accepted of his invitation, by which I found he deſigned to exclude the French miniſter from having any ſhare in our future conferences, but did not then ſuſpect his farther drift, which was, if he could, at any rate, or by any means, make a convert of me, to recommend himſelf to then worthy biſhop of London, a perſon, he knew, of ſuch ſingular candor, as not to be over ſuſpicious, and too generous, not to encourage what he thought a charitable, worthy action; ſo that, as I eaſily found afterwards, the hopes of procuring ſome preferment to himſelf, rather than any regard or concern for me, was the main ſpring of all his pretended zeal for my converſion. I am ſorry that I ſhall be obliged, in the ſequel, to relate ſeveral very harſh truths concerning his behaviour on this ſcandalous occaſion, though I will be ſtill careful to mention no more of it than is barely neceſſary to ſet the matter in a true light, and rather conceal than expoſe ſuch parts of it, as have not an immediate relation to the ſubject I am upon; much leſs will I go about to aggravate his faults, in order to extenuate my own. If he ſhould be ſtill alive when theſe memoirs ſhall be publiſhed, it will

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not be the firſt thing that has been publiſhed with truth and juſtice to his diſadvantage, and may all contribute to inſpire him with a true remorſe and ſincere repentance: if dead, it can neither hurt him, nor any that belong to him *. He was, however, intent upon his purſuit, and ſo aſſiduous in ſending for me, that ſome of the Dutch miniſters thought fit likewiſe to do the ſame, and more particularly, as I found afterwards, to reconcile me to their favourite article of predeſtination, by expounding it to me ac-

* The doctor is long ſince dead, and, I am ſorry to ſay, hath left a character behind him that reflects no great credit to his cloth, and may eaſily, among thoſe that knew him, juſtify what I have already ſaid, and ſhall be farther obliged to mention in the ſequel, he was not many years older than I when I firſt came acquainted with him, and I ſoon perceived him to be a man of no ſmall ambition, though he was ſo far from having any of the generous diſpoſition which is moſtly known to accompany it, that he was no leſs a ſlave to avarice: witneſs his arrogating to himſelf the credit as well as advantage of that excellent treatiſe, intituled, a Modeſt Enquiry after Moral Virtue, for which he obtained from the preſent biſhop of London a very good living in Eſſex, but which the real and worthy author, a poor epiſcopal clergyman in Scotland, ſince obliged him publickly to diſown and diſclaim in print, as well as to compriſe with him for the profit of the edition This, together with his malverſation in ſundry reſpects in the pariſh of St Margaret, Weſtminſter, ſtill freſh in people's memory, obliged him to retire to his new living, where, I am told, he lived very private, and, I hope, made the beſt uſe of his ſolitude As therefore he had long ago loſt his character among all that knew him, or had heard of his ſhameful actions, I thought myſelf leſs obliged to treat it with that tenderneſs that I ſhould have done, had he taken more care to conceal his vile actions from the world.

cording to what they call the infralapſarian ſyſtem, which is indeed leſs dreadful and antiſcriptural; but Mr. Innes eaſily diſſuaded me from going among them, that he might have me wholly to himſelf, and ſeldom failed at our parting to clap a ſmall piece of Dutch ſilver into my hand, which proved an effectual bait to me, who was ſtill ſo bad an œconomiſt of my poor ſoldier's pay, and then wanted ſeveral neceſſaries, with which this ſupplied me.

By this time I began not to be a little tired with a ſoldier's life, the place was very cold and bleak, the duty hard, and the pay ſo ſmall, that even they who could make the moſt of it, could but juſt make ſhift to live on the plaineſt things; ſo that, all things conſidered, there was no likelihood I ſhould make any long oppoſition to his arguments, eſpecially as he took care to back them with very large promiſes of getting my diſcharge, and bringing me into England, where he made me hope to meet with the greateſt encouragement; and I own that the proſpect of ſuch a change of life made ſo great an impreſſion upon me, that he rather found me more forward to anſwer his deſign than was conſiſtent with prudence, and too ready to be wholly directed by him. As ſoon as I had given him this aſſurance, he wrote a long

long letter to the biſhop of London, wherein he told me he had ſaid ſo many things in my favour, that he doubted not of my ſoon being ſent for by, and meeting with the kindeſt reception from him However, the wiſhed-for anſwer not coming till ſix or ſeven weeks afterwards, gave me an opportunity of ſeeing farther into his temper, than I had been able to do, his meſſages to me were gradually leſs frequent, our interviews more cold, as well as our parting, when he likewiſe with-held his hand from making me the uſual preſents. This latter I indeed ſuppoſed might be owing to his caſh running lower than uſual; but I have ſeen ſo many inſtances of his niggardneſs, that I have more reaſon to impute it to that, and partly to his deſpairing of the ſucceſs of his letter; for whilſt he was in hopes of it, he had taken care to introduce me to ſome learned gentlemen, miniſters and others, under pretence of examining whether I was capable of giving a ſatisfactory account of my pretended converſion, and had obtained from ſome of them very advantageous certificates in my favour, which he took no ſmall pride to ſhew to the brigadier and to his other acquaintance; but, upon the unexpected delay of the anſwer, he behaved with more coldneſs and indifference, till a jealous thought ſtarted

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in his mind, leſt that ſhould encourage ſome of theſe miniſters, who had expreſſed themſelves in my favour, to take the buſineſs out of his hand, and rob him of the credit of his new convert. This ſuſpicion made him all at once alter his behaviour, and reſolve to baptize me with ſuch haſte and ſo little warning, that my ſurprize gave me no time to conſider what an abominable piece of irreligion I had engaged myſelf in, though I muſt confeſs to my ſhame, that had he given me more time to think upon it, yet I have but too much reaſon to think, his fair promiſes and deluſive proſpects would eaſily have ſwallowed up all my ſcruples and reluctance, upon his firſt renewal of them.

This, and ſome other parts of his behaviour, had already convinced me that a charitable deſign of converting a ſoul was the farthеſt from his thoughts, and that he was ſo far from believing me to be what I pretended, that he had ſome time before taken a moſt effectual way to convince himſelf of the contrary, beyond all poſſibility of doubting. His ſtratagem, if I may ſo call it, was to make me tranſlate a paſſage in Cicero de *naturâ deorum*, of ſome length, into my (pretended) Formoſan language, and give it to him in writing; and this I eaſily did, by means of

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that unhappy readineſs I had at inventing of characters, languages, &c. But, after he had made me conſtrue it, and deſired me to write another verſion of it on another paper, his propoſal, and the manner of his exacting it, threw me into ſuch viſible confuſion, having had ſo little time to excogitate the firſt, and leſs to commit it to memory, that there were not above one half of the words in the ſecond that were in the firſt. His deſiring me to conſtrue this likewiſe, confuſed me ſtill more; eſpecially, when he ſhewed me the palpable difference. The ſerious air he aſſumed upon it, made me expect nothing elſe than a total rupture, and his expoſing the impoſture in the manner I was conſcious it deſerved. I was however agreeably (and, to my ſhame, I ought to add) deceived; and he finding, by this unexpected trial, what a memory and readineſs I had, and how qualified I was to carry on ſuch a cheat, began to clear his brow, and calm the diſorder he had thrown me into, by a more chearful and friendly look; but did not forget, at the ſame time, to give me to underſtand, tho' at a great diſtance, that I ought to take care to be better provided for the future. I promiſed to take his advice, and did ſo in part; but was become too indolent to go thro' the fatigue

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of forming a whole language, at leaſt till I was convinced that it would ſtand me in ſome ſtead; though, by what I have tried ſince I came into England, I cannot ſay but I could have compaſſed it with leſs difficulty than can be conceived, had I been capable of applying cloſely to it. However, his continuing his aſſiduity and ſeeming regard for me, at leaſt till the delay of the biſhop's anſwer, which made him ſuſpend it for ten or twelves days, gave me but too much reaſon to think, that he had not one jot more of conſcience or religion than I, thro' older, and a learned divine, ſince he made no ſcruple not only to join in, but to encourage and purſue ſo vile a cheat. But if he had no more religion, he had at leaſt more worldly prudence than I, in that he laid the foundation for ſome conſiderable preferment for himſelf, whilſt I, like the ſtupid abandoned wretch I had been hitherto, looked no farther than a little vain ſatisfaction for the preſent, or, at moſt a deliverance from the ſoldier's life. For by that time I could ſee ſo far thro' all his artifices, and different behaviours, that I did not much depend on any of his other promiſes. And he ſoon after gave me cauſe to think myſelf not miſtaken in him. For when, upon his bringing me into England, he got himſelf

ſelf into the poſt of chaplain-general of the Engliſh forces in Portugal, by the intereſt of the good biſhop Compton, he not only left me to ſhift for myſelf, and to bear the brunt of all objections, but was guilty of ſuch other vile actions, as eaſily convinced me that he was a more real convert to Spinoziſm, than I was to him; for I obſerved him often reading that author's poſthumous works, tho' he was an utter ſtranger to his ſober way of living. I had likewiſe a greater opinion of his parts and learning, than I have ſince found cauſe for, which made me conclude, that I had no reaſon to be more ſcrupulous than he, and this in a great meaſure quelled all my ſlight and tranſitory qualms, at leaſt till it came to the ſolemn puſh.

I have already hinted, that his fear of being ſupplanted by ſome other miniſter, made him reſolve to haſten the impious ceremony, for ſo I thought it, whatever he did; but of this he had appriſed me only in general terms, and without fixing any time for it, or mentioning how he deſigned to perform it, probably that I might think the leſs upon it. Accordingly ſome days paſſed without my ſeeing him, or at leaſt hearing any thing about it, when one afternoon he ſent his man to my lodgings, to acquaint me that he had fixed that even-

evening about ſix of the clock for it, and to deſire me to be ready againſt the time. As I had hardly three hours to conſider of it, one may eaſily imagine the ſurpriſe and hurry, the confuſion and dread, it threw me into; and, indeed, I was ſo divided between the fear of bringing upon myſelf ſome heavy judgment for ſo impious a profanation of that divine inſtitution, and the thoughts, if I ſubmitted to it, of behaving with ſome proper decency under all thoſe tumults with which my mind was then agitated, that I began to wiſh I might have reſolution enough to avoid it, when the dreaded time was come. But that not only failed me, when I ſaw the governor and ſeveral other officers and gentlemen going to the chapel, where the mock ceremony was to be diſpatched; but the devil, I believe, did then find a way of calming my conſcience for the preſent, by putting it into my head that it being to be performed by a heretic, for ſuch I then judged, if not all the Proteſtant miniſters, at leaſt ſuch a one as I now knew my ungodly guide to be, it could be indeed no ſacrament, nor a repetition of it. And this confuſed diſtinction I then called to mind from what I had learned at the ſchools, tho' I was far enough from being ſatisfied that it was right. What ſalvo he had

had for himſelf, I can only gueſs; but, as far as I could perceive, he went thro' the ceremony with a very compoſed countenance and preſence of mind, and ſeeming devotion; and tho' he only had his Engliſh common-prayer book before him, yet he read the office all in a good Latin off-hand, as the ſaying is, and without any heſitation or ſolecism, as thoſe obſerved who heard him with greater attention than I was then capable of. For tho' I was a perfect maſter of the Latin, and he pronounced it, as moſt of his countrymen do, in a very intelligible manner; yet ſuch was my confuſion and hurry of ſpirits, that I ſcarcely knew or could mind one word he ſaid. And a much greater one, I dare affirm, I ſhould have been in, had I been either able to attend to the ſolemnity of the office, or had been made acquainted with it before. But I was an utter ſtranger to every part of it; and it is my opinion, that he choſe I ſhould be ſo, for he never once ſhewed, much leſs explained, the leaſt part of it in any of the meetings I gave him at his lodgings. All I could recollect of the whole, was, that I kept up ſo much preſence of mind, as to appear demure and ſerious all the while, which I thought very long, and that I was very glad when it was over, and much more ſo that

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my abominable hypocriſy had not been detected, or rather puniſhed, by ſome ſevere judgment.

The name he gave me was that of George Lauder, which was that of the governor, whom he had prevailed upon to paſs for my godfather; and it was accordingly entered into the muſter-roll, inſtead of that of Salmanazar, which I had till then anſwered to. This new name and ſurname, joined to ſome congratulations then given me, and a preſent of a piſtole from the governor, made me, for ſome time, forget the heavy guilt I had plunged myſelf into. But this calm proved but ſhort, and the delay of the biſhop's anſwer, and much more Mr. Innes's coldneſs and indifference, after he had once made ſure of me, ſoon brought me to repent of my wicked compliance, as I then judged it, though not ſo much from a ſenſe of religion, as becauſe I did not look upon my vanity and ambition ſufficiently recompenſed for the atrocious guilt I had contracted, and this the reader will the better judge by what follows.

The long expected letter came at length; it was full of commendations to Mr. Innes for his zeal, beſides a very kind invitation to me from that worthy prelate, to come over into England. I was by that time

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ſo weary of a ſoldier's life, that I ſhould have readily come upon a leſs promiſing proſpect than that which he now began again to feed my ſanguine hopes with. Some things he talked to me quite inconſiſtent with what, as I before hinted, he knew of me, and which of courſe could be no temptations to me, unleſs I was baſe enough to add ſtill more weight to my guilt; of this kind in particular was what he mentioned to me of a deſign of ſending me to Oxford, to teach the Formoſan language to a ſet of gentlemen, who were afterwards to go with me to convert thoſe people to Chriſtianity, which, if he believed any thing of, he muſt needs depend upon my inventing ſuch a language, and involving myſelf in ſtill deeper guilt, and yet I own, to my ſhame, though I knew not with what view he could mention ſuch a propoſal, nor looked upon it but with dread, yet I could not forbear being much elevated with it, though I was ſtill in hopes that I might find ſome pretence for ſetting it aſide, and being made uſeful there in ſome other and more ſuitable way. How I might have behaved in ſuch a caſe I know not, only I have reaſon to queſtion whether I ſhould have had integrity and reſolution to have confeſſed the truth, rather than to have involved myſelf in a ſtill

more ſhameful impoſture; but, as I obſerved before, I knew him too well to rely on any of his fluent and diſingenuous promiſes.

The governor, at his requeſt, got me diſcharged, or rather gave my captain another man in my room, whilſt Mr. Innes took care to procure a certificate ſigned by that gentleman and a number of other officers of the garriſon, and even by ſeveral miniſters, much more in my commendation than I could poſſibly deſerve; after which, having got all things in order for our departure, we ſet out for Rotterdam, where he introduced me to ſome perſons of conſideration for piety and learning, particularly the celebrated Mr. Baſnage, author of the Continuation of the Jewiſh Hiſtory, and likewiſe to ſome of the miniſters and gentlemen of the Engliſh church, and to ſome of the French Proteſtants there; among whom I was ſo much careſſed, that I began to look upon myſelf in a very agreeable and advantageous light. There were, however, two things that mortified me not a little, viz. the mean appearance I made in ſome caſt-off cloaths, with which Mr. Innes had ſupplied me upon my leaving off my regimental ones, but which were both too big and too long for me, and the ſhrewd queſtions

tions put to me by ſeveral gentlemen, which convinced me that they did not give all the credit I could have wiſhed, to the account I gave of myſelf and country. For as to any real remorſe or concern for the ſhameful part I was acting, I found it ſit lighter on my mind, in proportion to the many things I met with that flattered my vanity. The more effectually therefore to remove theſe two obſtacles to it, I fell upon one of the moſt whimſical expedients that could come into a crazed brain, viz. that of living upon raw fleſh, roots and herbs; and it is ſurpriſing how ſoon I habituated myſelf to this new, and, till now, ſtrange food, without receiving the leaſt prejudice in my health, but I was bleſſed with a good conſtitution, and I took care to uſe a good deal of pepper, or other ſpices, for a concocter, whilſt my vanity, and the people's ſurprize at my diet, ſerved me for a reliſhing ſauce.

We embarked at the Brill for England in the packet-boat, and in our paſſage had ſuch a dreadful ſtorm, that as many paſſengers, and among them Mr. Innes, got into the long boat, as it could well contain. They all ſhewed an uncommon dread in their looks, whilſt I, who ſtaid behind, beheld them with a kind of ſtupid unconcern, rather than a generous pity,

every moment in danger of meeting with that dreadful end they had endeavoured to avoid; yet, terrible as the ſight was, it hardly raiſed in me one ſerious reſolution againſt the more dangerous deſign I was unhappily embarked in, or the more dreadful ſhipwreck I had expoſed myſelf to, that of the ſoul; or if any ſuch thoughts came then into my mind, they were ſoon diſpelled at our landing at Harwich, and at the pleaſing proſpect with which Mr. Innes had flattered my ambition and vanity. At my arrival at London, Mr. Innes, and ſome worthy clergymen of his acquaintance, introduced me to the biſhop of London, by whom I was received with great humanity, and got ſoon after a good number of friends among the clergy and laiety, moſt of them perſons of piety and worth. But I had a much greater number of oppoſers to combat with, who put me under a neceſſity of having my ſenſes and memory about me more than ever, to avoid a fatal detection; for I had been ſo negligent, notwithſtanding Mr. Innes's caution of being prepared, againſt exigencies, with a language and a prudent readineſs at reading and writing my new invented character, that had I been attacked on that ſide, I muſt have been infallibly foiled; but they took a contrary way, and though they judged

judged rightly of me in the main, yet I can ſafely affirm, that they have been very far from being candid, or even juſt in the account of the diſcoveries they pretended to have made to my diſadvantage, particularly Drs. Halley, Mead and Woodward; and as I had then ſeveral zealous patrons of great candor and integrity, who made it their buſineſs to ſearch into the bottom of thoſe reports, they found ſo much ſophiſtry and diſingenuity in them, that I cannot but obſerve here, that the too viſible eagerneſs of theſe gentlemen to expoſe me, at any rate, for a cheat, ſerved only to make the more ſerious and candid part think the better of me, and to look upon me as a kind of confeſſor, eſpecially as the three gentlemen abovementioned, but more particularly the firſt, were known to be no great admirers of the Chriſtian revelation, to which my patrons thought I had given ſo ample a teſtimony. My complexion, indeed, which was very fair, appeared an unanſwerable objection againſt me; there being but few ſuch to be met with in thoſe hot climates, eſpecially that of Formoſa, which lies under the tropic; but by the help of what I had read or heard of ſome of thoſe countries, I ſoon hatched a lucky diſtinction between thoſe whoſe buſineſs expoſes them to the

heat of the ſun, and thoſe who keep altogether at home, in cool ſhades, or apartments under ground; and ſcarce ever feel the leaſt degree of the reigning heat. And this diſtinction indeed is not only very reaſonable, but was afterwards confirmed by perſons of candor and experience, who had been in thoſe countries, and affirmed that they had ſeen perſons as fair as any northern Europeans, tho' not in ſo great a number, that lived under the rays of a vertical ſun.

On the other hand, my oppoſers were as much at a loſs how to find out my real country, either by my idiom, or my pronunciation of the Latin, French, Italian, or any other language I was maſter of. For though this may appear an eaſy thing to be done, by thoſe who are acquainted with the European languages, and the different pronunciations peculiar to every nation, yet both my idiom and pronunciation were ſo mixed and blended, and I may ſay deſignedly ſo, by the many languages I had learned, and nations I had been converſant with, that it was impoſſible for the moſt curious judge to diſcover in it any thing like an uniform likeneſs to any other European one they knew of. Dr. Mead, indeed, took upon him to be very poſitive from both, that I was of either German or Dutch extract, he could not have pitched upon a more

more unlikely one, ſeeing the Dutch idiom and language were the only one I was the leaſt acquainted with, and accordingly ſome of my friends, who were better judges of ſuch matters, and could plainly ſee that mine was more oppoſite to them than to any other, did freely cenſure him for it, and tell him he might as well have affirmed me to be an Ethiopian from my complexion, as a German from my pronunciation. But the truth was, I knew enough of all of them to blend my diſcourſe more or leſs with any of them, as either to put people upon the wrong ſcent, whilſt I kept every one from getting into the right one; for I can ſafely ſay that I never met with, nor heard of any one, that ever gueſſed right, or any thing near it, with reſpect to my native country.

I might here add ſeveral viſible advantages which my friends might juſtly take in my defence, and among them a great number of ſcandalous falſhoods diſperſed abroad, from what quarter I know not, of which thoſe, who were better acquainted with me, knew me to be wholly innocent, as well as crimes I was naturally averſe to, ſuch as drinking, gaming, &c. for, bating my vain-glorious foible, which, though I could not overcome, I took ſuch care to conceal from them by the moſt oppoſite be-

haviour, my converſation was ſuch as the moſt cenſorious could not have blamed, but which my friends highly admired in me. The plainneſs of my dreſs and diet, the little trouble I gave myſelf about worldly wealth, preferment, or even acquiring or ſecuring a bare competency, a good-natured and charitable diſpoſition, viſibly natural to me, my averſeneſs to drinking, lewd women, &c. and a great reſervedneſs to ſuch of the fair ſex as had either loſt their reputation, though they lived ſtill in credit and ſplendor, and even to thoſe who betrayed too ſmall a regard for their character, the converſation of whom I profeſſedly avoided, though againſt my own intereſt, not indeed ſo much from a principle of virtue, as an affectation of it; theſe, together with the warmth I naturally expreſſed for religion, and the real delight I took in the publick offices of it, appeared ſuch convincing proofs of my ſincerity, that thoſe of my friends, to whom I was moſt intimately known, were the moſt impatient and diſpleaſed to have it called in queſtion; for who could imagine, as they often urged, that a youth of ſo much ſenſe and learning for his years, ſo ſeemingly free from ambition and other vices, could be abandoned enough to be guilty of ſuch abominable an impoſture and impiety, for the ſake of a little

little plain, homely food and rayment, beyond which he neither makes the leaſt effort, or ſeems to have the leaſt wiſh?

I am aware that what I have ſaid in the laſt paragraph, will ſo far carry the face of my once favourite vanity, that it will be cenſured by ſeveral of my readers as a rank piece of oſtentation, rather than a ſincere acknowledgment of my guilt; tho' a more candid one, who joins both parts of it together, will rather ſee, that the diſplay of the one, is only the greater aggravation of the other. But as neither was the motive of what I have there ſaid, but rather to do juſtice to thoſe friends of mine who ſo kindly took my part on that account, I had much rather undergo cenſure againſt myſelf, than to have omitted any thing that can vindicate their character, and convince the world that the zeal they expreſſed for me, was really the effect of a moſt candid and charitable conſtruction on a life ſo ſeemingly innocent and diſintereſted, and not owing to any raſh or blind prepoſſeſſion, or to an unreaſonable oppoſition againſt my cenſurers, much leſs to diſhoneſt connivance with any views or deſigns of mine; when I am very ſure, that if they had had any well-grounded ſuſpicion of my being what I was, an impoſtor, they would have been the firſt who would not only have expoſed

poſed me to the world, but would have become my moſt irreconcileable enemies. And I thought myſelf the more obliged, in juſtice as well as gratitude, to ſay thus much in their vindication; becauſe ſome of them, men of probity and learning, undertook to be my advocates in print, and not only complained of thoſe aſperſions ſo freely and unjuſtly caſt upon me, but even challenged my accuſers, in ſeveral advertiſements publiſhed in the London Gazette, to prove any of them againſt me, or to produce any one ſolid proof or objection againſt the account I had given of myſelf. Notwithſtanding which charitable efforts on my behalf, and the candid vindication they printed ſome months after, both they and I had the mortification to find (and I have had ſince great reaſon to bleſs God for it) that my fabulous account was as much diſcredited by the greateſt part of the world as ever; which proved an effectual means, in time, to bring me, thro' his mercy, to a deeper ſenſe of my folly and impiety, than I could have been, if that had gained a more general credit.

There was likewiſe a variety of judgments formed about me, by thoſe who thought me a cheat. Thoſe of the church of Rome believed I was bribed to that impoſture by ſome Engliſh miniſters, on purpoſe

poſe to expoſe their church. The Proteſtants in Holland were much of the ſame mind; but added, that I was farther hired to explode their doctrine of predeſtination, and cry up the epiſcopacy of the church of England, in derogation of their Preſbyterian government. Here ſome repreſented me as a jeſuit or prieſt in diſguiſe, others as a tool of the nonjurors, becauſe Mr. Innes had introduced me among a ſet of them, particularly the famed Mr. Leſley, of whoſe writings, as well as inſtructive and facetious company, I was very fond; and I may add, that their converſation had not a little biaſſed me to their principles, eſpecially as I found them ſo conformable to the ſchool divinity I had learned beyond ſea, tho' it never affected me ſo far as to go to any of their meetings. However, the reader may ſee, by what I have ſaid hitherto, that all theſe various opinions were but random ſhots, and without any foundation. And indeed, my caſe was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was next to impoſſible for the ableſt heads to have gueſſed what my motives were, or for what, or by whom, I was introduced thus to impoſe upon mankind. And I am fully perſuaded, that my being wholly innocent of any ſuch vile deſigns, either againſt the church or ſtate, or of being employed by the enemies of either, was

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the cauſe of my diſappointment turning ſo much to my advantage, which might otherwiſe have been attended with a more fatal and ſhameful cataſtrophe; and that the merciful judge of all hearts, knowing mine to be actuated only by mere youthful folly and vanity, without any other dangerous or guilty deſign, than the indulging a wild and phrantic paſſion (which was grown too powerful for me to reſiſt, with that little ſhare of reaſon and experience I was then maſter of, and with theſe diſadvantages and temptations I laboured under) did, in his great pity, prevent my going on and periſhing under ſuch a load of unrepented guilt, and I accordingly deſire to be ever thankful for that great and undeſerved inſtance of his divine mercy and goodneſs. And, next to my humble acknowledgment of it, I do think myſelf bound to declare thus ſolemnly, that I never was ſet upon, nor directly or indirectly inticed, by any ſet of men for any private ends, to act the part I did, except what I have lately related of Mr. Innes's encouragements and promiſes to me, in which I am very well ſatisfied he had no other ends to ſerve, but that of his own private intereſt and advancement.

I am far enough however from reflecting upon, or bearing any reſentment againſt thoſe who looked upon me as a tool of ſome deſigning

deſigning ſet of men, engaged in ſome private deſign. It was not natural to ſuppoſe that ſuch a young, and, in all appearance, as well as reality, raw and unexperienced fellow, could of his own head have imbarked in ſuch an impoſture, and carried it on ſo long, and with ſuch boldneſs and ſucceſs, as to have procured to himſelf ſo many zealous patrons among men of character for learning and probity, unleſs he had been privately ſet upon, inſtructed, and ſupported in it, by ſome deſigning perſons of more years, diſcretion, and abilities, tho' from what quarter was not eaſy to gueſs, either from my behaviour, writings, or any view they could perceive me in purſuit of. As for thoſe who took me for a jeſuit, prieſt, or emiſſary from Rome, they were certainly the wideſt from the mark. The gentlemen of that church were always my moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers, and not without cauſe, as they could be very ſure that whatever deſign or errand I might be embarked in, it could not be in favour of it; and had my fabulous account met with that credit which it muſt be ſuppoſed was expected, it muſt have done their cauſe more diſſervice than any private deſign I might carry on could have done good. Beſides, it was viſible I ſhunned their company as much as poſſible, tho' my motive

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for it, the conſciouſneſs of my own guilt, was not ſo apparent. I never converſed with any of them, but in the jarring and controverſial way; and, tho' at that time much againſt my conſcience, was a ſtrenuous oppoſer of their particular doctrines, both in converſation and writing. I never once entered into any of their chapels, (nor have ſince, all the time I have been in England) neither did I ſhew the leaſt favour or partiality towards them. This was indeed rather looked upon as an artifice, ſaid to be very uſual and common amongſt them, it being urged as an obſervation of a long ſtanding, that thoſe diſguiſed emiſſaries affected to appear the moſt outrageous enemies of that cauſe they were privately carrying on. Whether the fact be true or not, I can only ſay, that I never knew of any ſuch but by hearſay; neither am I any farther concerned about it, than to ſay, that I was the fartheſt from being one of that ſort, and that whatever I have ſaid or written againſt that church, was only with a view of gaining credit to myſelf, without any view of ſerving or hurting it, or indeed caring which of the two was likely to be the reſult. For tho' all the arguments I had heard or read againſt it, and in which I was not a little verſed, had not yet been able to wipe off

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the prejudices of my education, which I had imbibed under the jeſuits and dominicans, of its being, if not the only ſaving church as they affirm it to be, yet, at leaſt, of its not being ſo bad and corrupt, ſo dangerous and damnable a one as ſome Proteſtants, with more zeal than charity, have repreſented it, under the odious titles of Anti-chriſt, whore of Babylon, &c. nevertheleſs, my youth and inconſiderate vanity would not ſuffer me to enquire whether or no, or how far, I incurred a guilt in my oppoſing and expoſing it.

It was likewiſe from the ſame ſhameful motive of vanity, that I pretended, from my own knowledge, not only to confirm but aggravate the black account which authors had publiſhed againſt the jeſuits and other miſſionaries, eſpecially with regard to their boaſted converſions and ſucceſs in the Eaſt-Indies, and more particularly concerning the cauſe of the perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians in Japan; when all that I knew of it was only from reading or hearſay. And as to the Jeſuits, though I was then and am ſtill ſenſible that ſome of their maxims, tenets, and politics, do juſtly deſerve to be condemned; yet I was far enough from having ſuch diſadvantageous notions of that ſociety, as the world ſeems generally to have of it, and much leſs from

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any thing I had ever obſerved among them, conſidering how young I was when I left them, and how cloſe and recluſe they keep themſelves from the reſt of the world. But whether they deſerve the diſadvantageous character they have, or not, which is beſt known to him, to whom both they and every man is to give an account at the laſt great day, it is incumbent upon me thus far to do them juſtice, as to own, that thoſe reflexions I have caſt upon their miſſionaries in China and Japan, had no other foundation than common report, without any enquiry whether that was true or falſe; ſo far was I from having any juſt or real reaſon for confirming or aggravating it. As for the reſt of the prieſts of that church, as far as I was capable of judging of them, in thoſe juvenile days in which I was more intimately converſant with ſeveral of them, I can only ſay, with the common voice, that there are good and bad among them, though perhaps to a much higher degree than I have had occaſion to obſerve of thoſe of any other church. One thing I can truly ſay, however, to their praiſe, that they generally take greater care to inſtruct their youth in matters of religion, and to oblige them all to aſſiſt at their catechetical lectures on Sundays in the afternoon. The misfortune was, that we had no books to

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learn them by heart beforehand, but the prieſt was forced by repetitions to inculcate them in our memories; whence it followed, that thoſe who were wanting either in attention or memory, went away little the better for the pains he took with them. As for me, I never failed coming, becauſe my memory being very tenacious, and my apprehenſions pretty quick, I could carry an anſwer of any length at once or twice repeating, ſo that I was moſtly the firſt interrogated, and received no ſmall commendations from our inſtructors, eſpecially as I was one of the youngeſt, and was as ready at thoſe anſwers on the next meeting, as if I had thought on nothing elſe all that time. And as this uſed to make me to be much admired by the numerous audience, ſo it of courſe failed not to feed me with ſecret pride, and a natural fondneſs for all ſuch occaſions of ſhewing my talents.

The ſame happened to me on my coming firſt into England, when Dr. Innes, proud of his pretended proſelyte, introduced me into the company of all the learned divines of his acquaintance, that they might hear me deſcant on the grounds of my converſion; and I was by that time ſo well verſed in that kind of learning, more from the books I occaſionally read on that

ſubject, than from any pains he had taken to inſtruct me, that I believe few people of my years, notwithſtanding I had murdered ſo much of my time, could have ſaid more in defence of the Chriſtian religion; all which was ſufficiently acknowledged with no ſmall commendations and congratulations, both by all that heard me, and by thoſe who have firſt read theſe arguments in the fictitious book abovementioned; for that ſyſtem of religion, and defence of Chriſtianity, was what I had moſtly extracted out of Limborch, and ſome other divines, without Dr. Innes's help, or even knowledge, though what follows there, with reſpect to Church government, was wholly his, as may be eaſily perceived from the difference of ſtyle and method. However, when all theſe kinds of converſations were ended, my doctor failed not to ſpur my pride ſtill farther on, by telling me what thoſe gentlemen ſaid in my commendation, which, whether or not exaggerated by him, gave me ſuch an extraordinary notion of my parts, that I was proud of every opportunity of ſhewing myſelf in all companies and public places, without any other view than that of feeding my natural vanity, whilſt he was privately purſuing what appeared to him more weighty, the advancing of his fortune, to which

which end he ſtrove to introduce me, and himſelf by my means, to all the great men in church and ſtate, which he found no hard matter to do, becauſe, ere I had been in London three months, I had been ſo cried up for a prodigy, that they were all exceedingly deſirous of ſeeing and converſing with me; and not only the domeſtic, but even the foreign papers, had helped to blaze forth many things in my praiſe, for which there was not any foundation Thus I remember a remarkable article from London, printed in the Dutch and French papers, that the young Japaner had been preſented to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who admired him chiefly for his readineſs in ſpeaking a great variety of languages. Whereas I cannot call to mind that I ſpoke any but the Latin, which his grace having either forgot, or being unuſed to my foreign pronunciation, was forced to have interpreted to him, by Dr. Innes, in Engliſh. So that I found I needed not to be very ſolicitous to blow my own trumpet, when the common cry, and the public papers, did it beyond my expectation for me. I had indeed a fluency of the Latin, and a ſmattering of ſeveral modern languages, as well as a great readineſs in learning them, had I applied myſelf to them; but I boaſted of more knowledge in them by far than I

had, eſpecially in the oriental ones; tho' at that time quite ignorant of them.

I had not been two months in London before the doctor perſuaded me to tranſlate the church catechiſm into my pretended Formoſan language; and I, tho' much againſt my will, was forced, by his overbearing command, not only to perform the odious taſk, but to preſent it afterwards to the biſhop of London, who received and rewarded it with his uſual candor and generoſity, and laid it up among his other curious manuſcripts, tho' it rather deſerved to have been condemned to the flames. However, the doctor had his own views to ſerve, one of which was to confirm me in the good opinion of that worthy prelate, and of as many other gentlemen as ſhould either ſee or hear of it. And another, to make me exert my talents in inventing and familiariſing myſelf to this pretended Formoſan language and character, for fear my want of it ſhould cauſe ſome unexpected diſcovery, at leaſt before he had got the preferment he was in purſuit of. When I had finiſhed the pretended verſion, he not only examined it himſelf carefully, but got other perſons to do the ſame, who all found the language ſo regular and grammatical, as well as different from all others they knew, both with reſpect to the words and idiom,

idiom, that they gave it as their opinion, that it muſt be a real language, and could be no counterfeit, much leſs have been invented by ſuch a ſtripling as I; and hence ſome of thoſe of my oppoſers, who thought me a Romiſh prieſt in diſguiſe, imagined that I had been aſſiſted in, or taught it, by ſome of the fraternity beyond ſea. I ſhould have obſerved, that I had taken care to write it in one column in Roman character, with an interlineal Latin verſion in Italick, and my invented character on the oppoſite column.

As he found me to ſucceed ſo well in this vile piece of invention, he ſoon after prevailed upon me to write the hiſtory of Formoſa, and got ſeveral of his and my acquaintance to back the motion, as a thing which would bring much credit and profit to me, and be very acceptable to the public. One might have imagined, that a taſk ſo arduous and dangerous would have ſtartled ſuch a raw young fellow as I was, being then ſcarce twenty years old, and ſo very great a ſtranger to theſe countries. I had indeed got ſome imperfect notions from a few books that had fallen in my way, as well as from converſation with thoſe who had either been in thoſe parts, or had read more about them than I, but was forced to hatch many things out of my

own fertile fancy, to ſupply the defects of my knowledge. One thing I found a great help and relief from, that the accounts we then had of that iſland from Candidus, a Dutch miniſter, who had reſided there, and from the reſt of the writers who had in ſome meaſure copied him, were ſtuffed with ſuch monſtrous abſurdities and contradictions, and that the place upon the whole was ſo very unknown to the Europeans, even to thoſe who had been in China, Japan, and other parts of that country, that I might the more eaſily make whatever I ſhould ſay of it, to paſs current with the generality of the world. So that without much heſitation I undertook the work, and reſolved with myſelf to give ſuch a deſcription of it as ſhould be wholly new and ſurprizing, and ſhould in moſt particulars claſh with all the accounts other writers had given of it; particularly that it belonged to Japan, contrary to what all other writers and travellers have affirmed of its being ſubject to China. And this I was left to hammer out of my own brain, without any other aſſiſtance than that of Varenius's deſcription of Japan, which Dr. Innes put into my hands, to get what I could out of it. All this while both he and the bookſellers were ſo earneſt for my diſpatching it out of hand, whilſt the town was hot

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in expectation of it, that I was ſcarcely allowed two months to write the whole, notwithſtanding the many avocations I had by frequent viſitors, and invitations abroad. So that it is no wonder the thing came out ſo crude, imperfect, and abſurd, and more ſo would it have been, had not the perſon, who engliſhed it from my Latin, aſſiſted me to correct many more and greater improbabilities, which I had not time to diſcover: but he likewiſe was hurried on by the bookſellers, and had the fewer opportunities of conſulting me on that head. Beſides, there was one maxim I could never be prevailed upon to depart from, viz. that whatever I had once affirmed in converſation, tho' to ever ſo few people, and tho' ever ſo improbable, or even abſurd, ſhould never be amended or contradicted in the narrative. Thus having once, inadvertently in converſation, made the yearly number of ſacrificed infants to amount to eighteen thouſand, I could never be perſuaded to leſſen it, though I had been often made ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſo ſmall an iſland loſing ſo many males every year, without becoming at length quite depopulated, ſuppoſing the inhabitants to have been ſo ſtupid as to comply with, or the prieſts inhuman enough to have exacted ſuch a number of human victims. I muſt moreover ob-

ſerve here, that my friends found ſtill a much weightier objection againſt my account, viz. how ſuch a ſtripling as I muſt be when I left that country (for being then but near twenty years of age, I could not be ſuppoſed to have been above fifteen or ſixteen upon my pretended coming away) could give ſuch a large and particular account of it, as could hardly have been expected from a man of twice my age. Many of them were hence inclined to impute what was ſo liable to objection in my narrative to my want of years and experience, which might make me the more liable to miſtake. This, though a very candid excuſe for me, I was not inclined to admit of, and therefore, to abate the wonder, was forced, by Dr. Innes's advice, to aſſume three years more than I had, and to pretend I was nineteen years when I came away, and between twenty-two and twenty-three at the writing of the book; more than that had I pretended to be, my face, air, and behaviour would have given me the lye, for in that only reſpect did I appear what I really was, a raw, young, hot-headed and inconſiderate ſtripling. However, theſe monſtroſities, as I may juſtly call them, which gave me ſo much trouble to vindicate afterwards, both in company and in a new preface to the ſecond edition

edition of that vile romance, have really, ſince I came to be in a better mind, proved no ſmall comfort to me, ſince they have been an effectual means of diſcrediting the whole relation, and ſave me the trouble and ſhame of doing it in print, eſpecially during the life of many of my worthy friends, who, from a real principle of candor and charity, had publicly engaged in my quarrel, and to whom ſuch an open acknowledgment muſt have given the greateſt mortification; ſo that though I was come by that time to abhor the impoſture, yet I contented myſelf with owning it only to ſome of my moſt intimate friends, and in other company, when queſtioned about it, with turning the ſubject in ſuch manner as ſhould give them to underſtand, that I was aſhamed to enter farther into it.

The firſt edition had not been long publiſhed before it was all ſold, and a new one demanded, with ſuch alterations and vindication of the old one as might moſt likely promote the ſale, and ſatisfy at once the curioſity of the public, and the avarice of the proprietor; for, as to me, I had only the ſmall ſum of ten guineas for the copy of the firſt, and twelve more for the improvements in the ſecond, beſides ſuch preſents as were made me by the generous few to whom I preſented them. But before I ventured on

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the ſecond, I was ſent by the good biſhop of London, and my other friends, to Oxford, to purſue ſuch ſtudies as I was fit for, or inclined to, whilſt my oppoſers and advocates were diſputing here about the merit or demerit of the firſt. And when I came to the univerſity, I found many learned and worthy friends as warmly engaged for, as others were againſt me; and with this ſeeming advantage on my ſide, at which I have had frequent occaſion to bluſh, that the former were men of the beſt character for candor and probity, as well as learning and parts, and whom, for that very reaſon, I forbear, as I ought, to name, their partiality for me being the mere effect of too extenſive a charity and generoſity, and which only expoſed them to the ſarcaſms and ridicule of my opponents.

However that be, I had a convenient apartment aſſigned me in one of the moſt conſiderable colleges by the worthy head of it, a man in high reputation for his writings and univerſal ſkill in all polite literature, and eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed gentlemen of his age. I was not, indeed, immatriculated, for reaſons ſcarce worth troubling the world with, but had all the other advantages of learning which that college or the univerſity could afford me, either by acceſs to the public and private libraries, or by acquaintance

acquaintance with ſome of the learned in ſeveral other colleges as well as our own, and in this laſt I had, moreover, a very worthy and learned tutor aſſigned me, who not only gave me leave to aſſiſt at all the lectures he read to his other pupils, ſome of whom were gentlemen of high birth and fortune, and greatly advanced in learning, but allowed, and even invited me to make ſuch objections as my mind ſuggeſted to me, or even to chuſe the ſubject of our entertainment, whether the Newtonian philoſophy, logic, poetry, or divinity; which laſt was, of all others, my favourite one, as well as in a great meaſure his, for he took orders ſoon after I left Oxford.

As to the mathematics, in which he was alſo well ſkilled, though I had a great opinion of that ſtudy, yet could I never be prevailed to go over the threſhold; and the needleſs demonſtrations, as I then thought them, to many of Euclid's propoſitions, which appeared to me ſelf-evident, ſuch as that the lines that are drawn through a circle, are longer or ſhorter according to their nearneſs or diſtance from the centre, and others of the like nature, ſeemed to me rather trifling than ſerious or uſeful, and I could never have the patience to be better informed. Hiſtory, eſpecially ancient chronology, &c. appeared ſo dark, intricate, and liable to ſuch unſur-

unſurmountable difficulties, that I never expected to meet with any ſatisfaction in them, worth the time and pains they would coſt to learn, ſo that I was a long while before I could be induced to read Scripture hiſtory, neither did I begin to be converſant in it till I came to have a taſte for the Hebrew tongue, which was not till many years after, and that by mere accident, as I ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. Church muſic, which was then in great perfection by the encouragement which the worthy dean of Chriſt-Church gave it, as well as by ſeveral of his excellent compoſitions in that kind, was the main thing that captivated my vain roving fancy, and took up moſt of my ſpare hours, though I was not a little aſhamed to ſee what drunken, idle ragamuffins compoſed almoſt every choir there, and with what indolence, to call it by no worſe name, they performed their parts, except on ſome more ſolemn occaſions than ordinary, as when the biſhop, or ſome perſons of diſtinction, appeared at the Divine worſhip. The evening I commonly ſpent with ſome ſelect company, but without drinking to exceſs, or even to a degree of exhilaration, which I neither wanted nor was inclined to, and at the uſual hour of nine retired to my apartment. But here to make a ſhew, at leaſt, of retrieving the time I waſted abroad in the day-time in company, muſic,

muſic, &c. I uſed to light a candle, and let it burn the greateſt part of the night in my ſtudy, to make my neighbours believe I was plying of my books; and ſleeping in my eaſy chair, left the bed often for a whole week as I found it, to the great ſurprize of my bed-maker, who could hardly imagine how I could live with ſo little ſleep, and without the uſual benefit of bed refreſhment. Had I not been bleſſed with a ſtrong conſtitution, ſeaſoned moreover by two years fatigues in the army, and by my living moderate and low, I might perhaps have felt the ſad effects of ſuch an irregularity, and I don't know but my apprehenſion of it might be one main motive that induced me to make a ſhew of it, in order to give it the greater merit; for I began to pretend to have ſwelled legs and feet, and a gouty kind of diſtemper, which my friends failed not to attribute to that, and earneſtly intreated me to ſubmit to more regular hours and method of reſt. They likewiſe prevailed upon me to go and drink ſome medicinal waters at a ſmall diſtance from the city, it being then the ſeaſon, and a good deal of company of both ſexes reſorting to it; but as I knew myſelf to ſtand in no need of any of thoſe helps, I went thither only twice or thrice, rather for the ſake of the company, diverſion, and muſic; but as my pretended lameneſs gave

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me a kind of gravity, which I was not willing to part with, not knowing how to keep up to the one without the other, I went ſtill limping about like an old gouty fellow, tho' no man could enjoy a better ſhare of health and flow of ſpirits than I did all the time I ſtaid there.

It were a ſhame for me to tell how idly I ſpent moſt of my time, and how little progreſs I made in ſuch a place, company, and among ſuch noble libraries, and learned acquaintance; for, excepting thoſe lectures which I heard from my tutor, moſt of what I got was by converſation, but little or nothing by reading, except in books of controverſy, almoſt the only ones that could captivate my roving mind. However, it was during my ſhort abode here, (ſcarcely ſix months) that I employed my leiſure hours in correcting and reviſing my romance of Formoſa, and wrote the beſt anſwer I could to the objections that had been made to the firſt edition, in a ſecond preface, which, all things conſidered, met with much greater approbation than it deſerved, from thoſe few intimates I had ſhewed it to; after which, taking my leave of all my friends there, I ſet out for London, where I ſoon after publiſhed that ſecond edition. At my coming to my old lodgings in Pall-Mall, where Dr. Innes and I had formerly lodged, I was told that he

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was gone over chaplain-general to the Engliſh forces in Portugal. I had no reaſon to regret his abſence, for he had, before I went to Oxford, been guilty of ſuch notorious and barefaced immoralities, as well in this as in a former lodging in the Strand, but thoſe of ſober and reputable families, that his character had greatly ſuffered by it, and he went away, juſt time enough to ſave himſelf the mortification of being ſhamefully turned out of this laſt, as he had been out of the former. Had I been, indeed, a real convert from heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, it might have been truly ſaid of him, what our Divine Maſter ſaid of the Phariſees, compaſſing ſea and land to gain a proſelyte, and making him ten times more wicked than themſelves; and he hath been more than once ſeverely reproved by his acquaintance, for the ſcandalous example he gave to me in particular, who was admired by them for the contrary virtues. The truth is, he had an almoſt inſurmountable propenſity to wine and women, and when fraught with the former, fell immoderately foul on the latter, whether maids or married, not ſcrupling to uſe even violence; which I particularly mention, becauſe his behaviour in theſe, and ſeveral other reſpects, to ſay nothing of what I have hinted in a former note, gave me but too much cauſe to think that he had no real regard to religion,

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either natural or revealed; ſo that had I not been happily reſtrained by Divine Grace, his example would not have failed to have extinguiſhed all ſenſe of remorſe which accompanied every indirect action I did, and confirmed me in downright infidelity, in which caſe I might never have been ſo happily made ſenſible of the error of my ways, as I have ſince been, nor ever repented of them, till it had been too late. I have therefore great reaſon to acknowledge it the greateſt mercy that could befal me, that I was ſo well grounded in the principles and evidence of the Chriſtian religion, that neither the converſation of the then free-thinkers, as they loved to ſtile themſelves, and by many of whom I was ſeverely attacked, nor the writings of a Hobbs, Spinoſa, Toland, Collins, Tindal, &c. againſt the truth of Divine revelation, could appear to me in any other light than as the vain efforts of a dangerous ſet of men to overturn a religion, the beſt founded, and moſt judiciouſly calculated to promote the peace and happineſs of mankind, both temporal and eternal; I muſt own, that the ſophiſtry which perpetually runs thro' their writings, like the warp through the woof, gave me but too much cauſe to ſuſpect their ſincerity, and that the inveteracy they ſhew againſt the nobleſt ſyſtem of morality that ever could be thought

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of, to which all their united force could never ſubſtitute any thing better, or near ſo good, is but a ſorry proof of their pretended love to truth, and to the good of mankind, eſpecially when I conſidered how fully and frequently their writings have been anſwered and exploded by better hands, without any other viſible effect than that of their trumping up the ſame old trite arguments in ſome new dreſs, and claiming a freſh victory from them.

I hope that what I have now wrote will not be deemed, by the candid at leaſt, as deſigned to proclaim my own praiſe, ſeeing it rather aggravates my guilt that I could act ſuch a notorious piece of hypocriſy, contrary to the ſtrongeſt convictions I then felt, that it was impious and offenſive to God. What I chiefly mention it here for, is only to obſerve, that it was that very conviction (which his good providence would not ſuffer to be quite extinguiſhed in me, though he permitted it to be ſo long kept under by the impetuoſity of my wild and ungovernable vanity) that did at length co-operate with his grace to work in me an utter abhorrence both againſt that vile and dangerous paſſion, and the ſtill viler crimes it had involved me in: for if ſincerity is one of the moſt eſſential virtues of the goſpel, how abominable muſt ſuch a long-winded and multifarious

diſſimulation appear to a guilty perſon, when brought to a deep ſenſe of it, however light it might ſeem to him in the more youthful and inconſiderate part of his life? Thoſe only who have felt can judge of the ſmart and horror of it, under which nothing could well ſupport them but a ſure reliance on the death and merits of a Divine Saviour, and a ſincere repentance for, and deteſtation of it. For as ſuch a happy change can only be the work of Divine Grace, ſo it gives one a moral and comfortable aſſurance of pardon and acceptance at the throne of infinite mercy, through the efficacious interceſſion of our common Redeemer and eternal High-Prieſt.

But though I occaſionally mention it here, I would not have it inferred from thence, that I began ſo ſoon to give way to ſo ſalutary a remorſe. I was too young, vain, raſh and thoughtleſs to be any other way influenced by it, than as it put me upon finding out the moſt ſenſeleſs excuſes and palliatives, ſuch as every one may eaſily gueſs at, that hath been, like me, a ſlave to youthful paſſions. So that above half a ſcore or a dozen years were miſ-ſpent in a courſe of the moſt ſhameful idleneſs, vanity and extravagance; ſome ſort of gallantry with the fair ſex, with many of whom, even perſons of fortune and character, of ſenſe, wit, and learning, I was

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become a great favourite, and might, if I could have overcome my natural ſheepiſhneſs and fear of a repulſe, have been more ſucceſsful either by way of matrimony or intrigue; which I have ſince the more wondered at, conſidering my great propenſity to women was as ſtrong as my vanity, and the opportunities ſo many and inviting, and I ſo little ſcrupulous about the danger or guilt of them; yet I may truly ſay, that hardly any man who might have enjoyed ſo great a variety, ever indulged himſelf in ſo few inſtances of the unlawful kind as I have done. This I am far from hinting by way of pretence to a greater degree of virtue, of which no man could then have a leſs ſhare than I; for in thoſe few, wherein I was unhappily engaged, but eſpecially one wherein my affection was captivated to an immoderate degree, no man purſued them with more eagerneſs and exceſs than I did. But I am far enough from being inclined to entertain my reader with a detail of my ſad irregularities and follies, either in this or other reſpects, which I have long ſince looked back upon with ſhame and ſorrow; only, with regard to ſuch kind of unlawful amours, I cannot recal to mind my ſtrong and vehement bias for them, without thankfully acknowledging that there muſt have been ſome ſecret providence that kept me from giving ſuch

way as I might otherwiſe have done, to the ruin of my health, circumſtances, &c. or my being unwarily drawn into ſome unhappy marriage, or other ſnares, into which I have obſerved many one leſs raſh, extravagant, and inconſiderate than I, have ſo unhappily fallen into.

I was led into this ſenſe of God's divine providence towards me, by ſome (I may ſay) unavoidable obſervations on his gracious diſpenſations, in which it was impoſſible for me to be miſtaken: one was, my meeting with an almoſt conſtant diſappointment in my moſt pleaſing proſpects, my moſt ſanguine expectations and favourite projects, whenever the end propoſed was the ſatisfaction of my predominant paſſion, or the means to attain it were ſuch as my conſcience condemned as unlawful; ſo that I ſeldom failed of reaping ſome pungent ſhame, mortification or diſgrace, where I expected approbation and applauſe, or with loſſes and poverty, where I looked for profit or gain. On the other hand, whenever I chearfully entered into any laudable method of living that offered itſelf, or rather, which the ſame good Providence threw in my way, I always met with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and with ſuch credit and approbation as made me ample amends for the ſtruggles my pride made againſt it on account of its meanneſs. I

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ſhall take the liberty of giving a ſignal inſtance, becauſe it hath an immediate connection with the impoſture I was ſtill ſtriving to carry on, and conſequently deſerves to be expoſed.

I had been about five or ſix years in England, and lived in ſuch an extravagant and careleſs manner (if not in expences, which were rather moderate than laviſh, had I been in any laudable way of gaining a competency, but which for want of that often run me into debt, without any viſible way of extricating myſelf) when a plauſible way was offered to me, by one Pattenden, of getting money, and credit too, by a white ſort of Japan which he had found out, and was then, in vain, endeavouring to recommend to the world, tho' it was really a curious ſort of work. His propoſal was, that I ſhould father, and introduce it, under the notion of my having learned and brought the art from Formoſa; on which condition, and my putting now and then a hand to the painting, he offered me a conſiderable ſhare in the profit. I readily agreed to his propoſal, not only on account of the profit we ſuppoſed it would bring, but much more ſo as it would yield a kind of convincing proof to the fabulous account I had given of myſelf. We accordingly advertiſed it under the name of White Formoſan Work; and it was

viewed and greatly admired by the curious for its fine whitneſs, ſmoothneſs, and hardneſs, and for the beauty of the other colours painted upon it: notwithſtanding which, and all the extravagant encomiums we gave it, by far beyond what it really deſerved, and our care and artifice to conceal its real faults, for ſome it had, we could never make it ſucceed ſo as to be gainers by it. And though our diſappointment might be owing, in ſome meaſure, to the vaſt high price he rated it at, contrary to my opinion, yet I have cauſe to bleſs God it ſo happily miſcarried, and was forced to quit it; for had the project ſucceeded according to my ſanguine hopes, it would have hardened me only the more irretrievably in my vile impoſture and ſelf-conceit, but its being ſo unaccountably blaſted, in ſpite of all our endeavours to puſh it forward, did not a little contribute to inſpire me with a diſlike to all ſuch unlawful and diſhoneſt ways of getting of money, though this was not the immediate reſult of my diſappointment; on the contrary, I grieved at it, and at ſome other of the like nature, for ſome years, till the frequency of them made me ſee clearly into the true cauſe of them, and fully perſuaded me that nothing but an honeſt and ſincere intention, followed by the uſe of right and lawful means, could be attended with ſucceſs; for I attempted ſince then

then ſeveral other means of getting money, which, though not equally odious as this, were ſtill blameable in me, by reaſon of my incapacity for them, ſuch as the practiſing a kind of empyrical phyſic, teaching of ſome modern languages, &c. of which I neither was a ſufficient maſter, nor capable of a competent application to make myſelf ſo. However, as I was happily diſappointed in them all, and, as I had reaſon to think, juſtly too, it ſet me, at length, on a more honeſt and laudable ſcent; and it was not long before Providence threw That in my way, which neither my pride nor my reluctance to a cloſe application, would have ſuffered me to have ſought after, or even thought of: for a counſellor of Lincoln's-Inn, who brought up his three ſons and a daughter under his own eye, and had a better opinion of me by far than I deſerved, ſent for me, and propoſed to me the inſtructing his ſons in the Latin tongue, and ſuch other branches of learning, as I ſhould think them capable of, at his own chambers. I readily accepted the offer, notwithſtanding the ſalary was rather too ſmall for the charge, as I was to attend them twice a day, and ſpend, at leaſt, three hours with them every day, and lived at ſome diſtance from him. I was, in about a year's time, honourably diſcharged, upon

his ſending them to be farther educated beyond ſea.

Soon after this I was recommended to be tutor to a young gentleman, about eight miles from London: his father, who was an officer in the army, had kept him for ſeveral years at ſome conſiderable ſchools to little purpoſe, for when I came to him, he could hardly tranſlate one line out of the plaineſt Latin authors, which he attributing rather to the remiſſneſs of his former maſters, than to his want of genius, reſolved to give him a home education. I found him, however, ſo unacquainted with every grammar rule, and ſo averſe to begin afreſh with it, he being then near fifteen years of age, that I was obliged to acquaint his father with the little hopes I had of him in the literary way, and propoſed the teaching him ſome other branches of learning, for which he ſhewed a readier genius, and particularly fortification, which, as I formerly hinted, I had learned from our indolent Jeſuit, and of which I was become a pretty good maſter, by converſation in the army, by ſeeing a good number of conſiderable fortreſſes in ſeveral parts of Europe, and more particularly by reading Vauban, Cohorn, and other eminent authors on the ſubject. My propoſal was readily agreed to both by father and ſon, and the latter made a conſiderable progreſs in it in a little

little time, inſomuch that we had not only gone through all the the theory of it, and he could take any plan of a place, but had likewiſe made a model in clay of a large fortified city, in which I had contrived to have a ſpecimen of every thing that related to the art of fortifying, both in the regular and irregular way, engineering, &c. and which, when finiſhed, was not a little admired, not only as a novelty, but likewiſe as a compleat piece of fortification. The misfortune was, that my ſalary was neither anſwerable, as I thought, to the pains I took with my pupil (whom I ſtill made, at proper times, apply himſelf to Latin, and other branches of literature) but likewiſe, through the extravagance of the father, very ill paid; which made me ſo much the more uneaſy, as I had contracted ſome debts which I ſhould have been glad then to have paid with it. This, at length, determined me, before the year was quite out, to accept of an offer, which not only appeared more advantageous, but likewiſe more ſuitable to my vanity, though it ſo far diſobliged the gentleman's father, that he made no ſcruple to refuſe paying me what was ſtill due to me, and to let me go from him with viſible tokens of his reſentment.

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This happened juſt after the rebellion was broke out in Lancaſhire and Scotland, anno 1715, on which account new troops were raiſed every where, and he became ſo conſiderable and fluſh of money, that I might have made my own terms to have ſtaid with him. But, by that time, ſome of my friends had prevailed upon the major of a regiment of dragoons, to make me the offer of being clerk to the regiment, and as I knew him to be by far a much finer, and more generous gentleman of the two, nothing could diſſuade me from accepting it. He could not, however prevail on the other captains to make me clerk to their troops, that being, as they ſaid, a perquiſite belonging to the quarter-maſter; but it did not hinder him from retaining me to his, and making ſuch additions to the common ſalary out of his own pocket, as made it near an equivalent, and the friendſhip and regard he ſhewed me, made me be looked upon as a fit companion to the reſt of the officers, ſeveral of whom having had a liberal education at ſome of the univerſities, it was not long before we came into a kind of intimacy; there was, beſides, another thing, which procured me no ſmall eſteem among them, viz. my becoming very ſoon acquainted with the clergy and other

other gentlemen in every place we came to, eſpecially with the learned and curious, by which means I could introduce ſuch of our officers to them as were men of merit or character, as the moſt part of them were. But what added ſtill more weight to the reſt was, that my friend, the major, who had often heard me called by the familiar nick-name of Sir George, in ſome of the families where he had become acquainted with me, after the peace of Utrecht, took it into his head not only to continue the ſame ſtile to me, but even to give it out, that I had been knighted by queen Anne. This laſt I was indeed wholly ignorant of, for a long while, and denied it as often as the queſtion was put to me, but was, however, ſo fond of the feather in the fool's cap, that rather than forego it, I uſed to lay a ſtronger claim to it, under pretence of my birth and family, for I ſtill paſſed current for a Formoſan, and was as proud as ever of being thought ſo, as it procured me ſuch an acceſs among perſons of rank and learning, which I likewiſe made a means of bringing our officers and them into a familiar and agreeable acquaintance, who might otherwiſe have been more than ordinarily ſhy of each other at that critical juncture. I might add, that as I was likewiſe a greater

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favourite of the fair ſex, than any of the red coats, whom they could not but look upon with ſome dread at that time, I had frequent invitations from them, even thoſe of rank and fortune, whoſe curioſity would not permit them to ſuffer ſo great a ſtranger as I was to come, or even to paſs ſo near them, without having the pleaſure of ſeeing and converſing with him, and informing themſelves in all the particulars that related to him. And as I always took care to behave in ſuch a manner as might gain their eſteem, as well as admiration, ſo I could the more eaſily introduce ſuch of our gentlemen as bore an unexceptionable character to them, by which means we had the ſatisfaction of ſpending many a pleaſant day in their company in the moſt innocent and agreeable manner, particularly in Lancaſhire, and, after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, where we continued in quarters, at Wigan, Warrington and Mancheſter, in which laſt I had, moreover, the opportunity of frequently viſiting a noble library belonging to the collegiate church, and well furniſhed with all manner of books that could be purchaſed with money; for it is endowed with 100 l. per ann. to ſupply it with new ones as they come out, and yet, when I was there they had above 500 l. in bank, and ſcarce

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knew how to lay it out, inſomuch that they were thinking of purchaſing of ſome of the moſt curious manuſcripts. This, I could not but obſerve to them, was ill judged, conſidering the ſituation of it, chiefly among tradeſmen, who have neither taſte nor knowledge of ſuch valuable pieces, and the few learned men in that neighbourhood that could reap any benefit from them, and rather adviſed them to lay out that income in purchaſing ſuch valuable modern books, as were yearly publiſhed both in England and out of it, and which, I thought, would better anſwer the intention of the noble donor. They ſeemed to acquieſce in what I ſaid; but whether they followed my advice or not, I never enquired ſince.

Theſe allurements, ſo ſoothing to my natural vanity, and our often moving from one county to another, made me ſtay longer in the regiment than I ought in reaſon or conſcience (had I been capable of liſtening to either) to have done, conſidering that I was of no ſervice, but only a dead weight to my friend the major, who, being moreover as bad an œconomiſt as myſelf, would have been glad enough to have been rid of me, though he never, either in word or carriage, gave me the leaſt hint of it, but rather the contrary; yet

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ſome of thoſe friends of mine, who had recommended me to him at firſt, had more than once adviſed me to eaſe him of ſo expenſive a load; yet ſo pleaſed was I with this wandering and idle kind of life, which gave me an opportunity of travelling through, and ſeeing, ſo many countries I ſhould otherwiſe never have been able to ſee, that I could not prevail upon myſelf to leave the regiment, till it was ordered into Ireland, and then marched as far as Briſtol with them, and ſaw them embarked for that kingdom: ſo that I had been, from firſt to laſt, ſomewhat above two years in this wandering kind of amuſing life, without reaping any other advantage than the ſeeing variety of places and people, and converſing here and there with ſome learned men and books, though nothing ſo much with the latter as I might have done, if my indolence, vanity and the variety of objects which danced before my eyes, had not diverted me from it.

Upon my return from Briſtol, I was at no ſmall loſs how to diſpoſe of myſelf for ſome time, and having had time to ruminate upon my miſ-ſpent time and idle life, was eaſily induced, by ſome of my friends, to alter my courſe, and, if poſſible, to get into a way of earning a competency by my own induſtry, rather than live at other people's

people's coſt, or, which was much worſe, on their charity, which I could not now but look upon myſelf as a moſt unworthy object of; and, as I had a little ſmattering of painting and drawing, and had I been capable of a proper application, might, with aſſiſtance, have attained to a conſiderable proficiency in it, having a ſtrong genius for, and no indifferent judgment in it. However, to go the neareſt and eaſieſt way to work, I reſolved on that of fan painting, which required leſs time and pains to learn; and had the profit been any thing anſwerable to my aſſiduity, I could have been contented to have drudged on with it ſtill. But that buſineſs was then at ſo low and contemptible an ebb, that, though I lived with a good family almoſt gratis, and was early and late at work, yet I found it impoſſible to get a bare competency by it; notwithſtanding the encouragement ſeveral of my friends and acquaintance gave me. This, however, brought me acquainted with a worthy clergyman; who, thinking the employment too mean for a man of my education and parts, and that I might beſtow my time to much better purpoſe in ſome kind of laudable ſtudy, particularly that of divinity, which I had always been moſt fond of and converſant in, engaged to raiſe a ſub-

ſubſcription among his acquaintance, by which I might be enabled to follow my ſtudies with more eaſe. He did it accordingly, to the amount of between twenty and thirty pounds per ann. which, with the help of a ſmall addition I got to it, by perfecting of a young gentleman in the Latin tongue and ſome other branches of learning, made it a comfortable competency, eſpecially as I was become, by this time, a better œconomiſt, and had fallen into a more frugal way of living.

But all this while this ſubſcription did lie ſomewhat heavy on my conſcience, and at ſome particular times gave me no ſmall uneaſineſs, inaſmuch as it was founded on a belief of my being a Formoſan, and a real convert to the church of England, which thoſe pious ſubſcribers had not any doubt of, that I could find, even to their dying day; for whenever I waited on them, I always met with the kindeſt reception and civil treatment that could be wiſhed. This uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed, as I now and then met with ſome people at their houſes, whoſe behaviour and objections, though not in plain terms, gave me but too much reaſon to think they had not the ſame charitable opinion of me; and this put me upon various indirect means to prevent my friends being prevailed upon by them to withdraw

withdraw their benevolence. This made me often wiſh and pray, that I might but fall into ſome more honeſt way of living without it, and free myſelf by it from that aggravated remorſe, with which I was forced to receive it. But though I was fully perſuaded of the guilt, yet I was not ſenſibly enough affected with it to make an open confeſſion of it, and how unworthy I was of their charitable opinion and aſſiſtance; and contented myſelf with making ſome reſolutions of giving up the latter, at leaſt, as ſoon as I could get myſelf into a way of living without it

I became at length, providentially I may ſay, acquainted with a perſon who was concerned in various branches relating to the printing trade, and in very good circumſtances. He was, moreover, a very generous and good-natured gentleman, and I became, in a little time, ſo great a favourite, that he could ſcarce paſs a day without ſeeing and conſulting me about ſome of his affairs; and by his means I came at laſt to tranſlate books, and to get a comfortable living by it. It was then I began to perceive, with no ſmall joy, how God bleſſed my endeavours in proportion to my diligence and honeſty, which made ſo lively an impreſſion on my mind, that I reſolved never to be concerned in any

works, that were either prophane, heretical, or of a trifling nature or ill tendency, and have accordingly refuſed them whenever they have been offered to me. From tranſlating of other people's works, I came at length to print ſome of my own, and with the ſame laudable view, and have found ſtill more credit and comfort in it, and more cauſe to bleſs the Divine mercy, for the wonderful and undeſerved ſucceſs I have ſince met with. But of theſe I ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place; in the mean time I ſhall only obſerve here, that my charitable friends, dying one after another, as my buſineſs increaſed, I never applied to the ſurvivors for a continuance of their benevolence, but declined it where it was offered, as being then able to live without it: and I can only add, that though I once looked upon theſe ſubſcriptions as no leſs unworthily beſtowed upon, than baſely received by me, yet I have had the comfort to obſerve ſince, that they proved the happy means of freeing me from a more laborious and unprofitable life, and of enabling me to follow thoſe ſtudies with more eaſe and chearfulneſs, which fitted me, in time, for thoſe more arduous and beneficial taſks, which I have been ſince engaged in; ſeeing it was during the greater part of that time, that I applied myſelf

myſelf to the Hebrew tongue, and to the more cloſe ſtudy of the ſacred books; by which means I had an opportunity of making a large collection of critical and other remarks, which, though deſigned then only for my own information, came at length to have a place in one of thoſe works I ſhall ſpeak of in the ſequel, where they have ſince met with the approbation of the public, both in England and abroad; though even under thoſe encouragements, and with thoſe opportunities I had, I muſt own, to my ſhame, that I was ſtill far enough from ſuch a laudable application, as might have turned them to better advantage; and that I ſtill miſ-ſpent a great deal of my time in a looſe, careleſs manner, and that it was not till after a year or two that I diſengaged myſelf from company, eſpecially of the fair ſex, though, one perſon excepted, rather trifling than culpable, to follow my books more cloſely. I ſhall therefore ſkip all the former part of my time, from the twentieth to the thirty-ſecond year of my age, as a ſad blank to every thing that was good or laudable, and fraught with a diſmal variety of folly, indiſcretion and other miſcarriages, which would rather diſguſt than inform, or even divert a ſober reader, to come to a more hopeful and inſtructive period; and only obſerve,

before-hand, that it was no ſmall happineſs to me, (which, to whatſoever owing, I ought at leaſt to attribute to my own diſcretion) that the many learned and pious perſons I was formerly, and continued ſtill, acquainted with, (for it was with ſuch that I moſtly choſe to converſe) were never acquainted with, nor, as I could perceive, ever ſuſpected me of being guilty of ſuch a ſhameful, idle and ſcandalous way of living, but believed that I ſpent moſt of my time to better purpoſe; elſe it is not to be doubted but I had been diſcarded and ſhunned by them. In which caſe I ſhould have entirely loſt the moſt effectual means of coming into a better way of thinking, which their converſation, example, and the many good books which they lent me, did at length happily bring me to, and been left, like a weather-cock, expoſed to all winds: for though I could talk, and, at ſome ſerious intervals, think as ſeriouſly as they of religion and its moſt important duties, and even comply with them in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed very delightful and ediſying to them; yet was my roving heart ſo far from joining ſincerely, or being affected with them, that I could eaſily forego them, to indulge any new riſing ſatisfaction, though ever ſo oppoſite. And indeed, ſuch a frequent variety did offer itſelf natu-

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rally in my way, as I was in no way able to reſiſt.

Thus, for inſtance, it was natural for thoſe intimates to introduce or renew ſome old ſubject or topic relating to my pretended country, travels, converſion, or other romantic part of my life, which, however irkſome it was then become to me to repeat, and as it were to confirm anew; yet there was no way for me to avoid it, unleſs I had at once acknowledged the whole relation to have been a notorious and ſhameful impoſture; and what a deadly wound muſt have ſuch an unexpected confeſſion given to my natural vanity? and what a mortification would it have been, to ſuch ſincere honeſt people, to hear it from my own mouth? ſo that, could I even have had courage enough to forego the former, as I have more than once thought and even reſolved to do, yet how could I find it in my heart to give ſo ſenſible a diſpleaſure to perſons that had ſhewn ſo much friendſhip and zeal for me? to ſay nothing of the dreadful apprehenſions of the conſequence of their charitable opinion being thereby turned into a juſt abhorrence and deteſtation. This was the ſad dilemma I found myſelf in when I came to reflect ſeriouſly on my caſe, and which made me conclude it, all things conſidered, altogether impoſſible for me to extricate myſelf out of,

without ſome miraculous power to aſſiſt me to overcome a paſſion, which had hitherto eluded all the oppoſition which my reaſon and experience had been able to raiſe againſt it. But what glimpſe of hope of any ſuch Divine help could ſuch a wretch have, who, with his eyes open to the guilt and danger, had brought himſelf into ſuch a dangerous ſtate? But God's mercy, which is over all his works, is not to be judged of by us according to our narrow apprehenſions, but according to the gracious manifeſtation he has given us of it in his goſpel; and as that aſſurance gave me good grounds to hope, ſo that hope inſpired me with a deſign to uſe all proper means to obtain it, and leave the iſſue of it to his Divine Providence. To him, therefore, I thankfully give all the praiſe for his undeſerved and ſingular bleſſing on thoſe means which himſelf directed me to, and what the chiefeſt of them were I have already mentioned, and ſhall take notice of ſome others in the ſequel, in hopes they may prove of ſervice to ſuch as may ſtand in the ſame need of them as I did then.

However, I muſt own, that the reſolution had ſomething awful and deterring, when I conſidered it in its full extent, to exchange the delights of variety and multiplicity of company (which had been ſo delightful and inſnaring to me till then, that no motive or obſtacle

obſtacle could keep me from it) for ſolitude and retirement, their bewitching flatteries and commendations, whether for a falſe merit I had aſſumed, or for ſome valuable things they fancied in me, for a cloſer recollection and abhorrence of my own vileneſs, to ſpending of ſo much precious time in the gaities and guilty vanities of life, for a more cloſe application and ſearch after the propereſt and moſt effectual means of redeeming that invaluable jewel, and the parcelling and beſtowing it to the moſt beneficial purpoſes, to retrench not only all unneceſſary and unlawful expences, but even ſome of the common and neceſſary ones, in order to make ſome amends for paſt extravagancies, by ſupplying the wants of thoſe many objects, that uſed to paſs by unobſerved and unpitied by me. Theſe, and other ſuch like indiſpenſable preparatives to the deſired thorough change, ſeemed to carry ſuch unſurmountable difficulties with them, that neither my ſmall ſhare of reaſon nor philoſophy could have ſupported me to any tolerable degree in the reſolutions I was daily ſtriving to make after it. And indeed, nothing ſo effectually did it, as the conſideration that that Divine Providence, which had inſpired me with that deſire, would not fail of compleating it, if I was not wanting to myſelf, for that at once ſet me upon trying

ſometimes one, ſometimes another, of thoſe duties, with ſucceſs enough at leaſt to encourage me to proceed.

And here I was again providentially helped by a worthy clergyman at Braintree in Eſſex; who, good man, had a much better opinion of me than I deſerved, and preſented me with that excellent book called Reformed devotions, and recommended by the late reverend Dr. Hicks. This excellent book, though then unknown to me, and diſreliſhed by ſome weak Chriſtians, is ſo well known to all the true devout ones, that I need ſay no more in commendation of it, than that it proved of ſuch vaſt benefit to me, that I can never ſufficiently admire it, or the piety of the compiler and reformer; for the many opportunities and invitations it gives one of frequent and cloſer intercourſe with God, and of meditating, in the moſt exalted manner, on his various works, infinite mercies, and on all the ſublime truths and duties of Chriſtianity, did ſo effectually reconcile me to that ſolitude and retirement I had formerly been ſo averſe to, and afforded me a moſt noble refreſhment ſeveral times a day, from my cloſe application to other ſtudies I was then purſuing, ſome of which being of the dry, others of the complex kind, might have gone but ſluggiſhly on without it. The late pious Mr. Nelſon's

Method

Method of Devotion falling likewiſe; ſoon after, into my hands, in order to be conveyed, by my means, to a young gentlewoman lately recovered from a ſtate of deſpondency, I had the curioſity to run through it, and found in it ſuch excellent, yet eaſy rules for the conquering of our natural vices, and recovering the contrary virtues to them, that I made it one of my daily monitors, and with no ſmall ſucceſs.

But that which gave me the greateſt help, was the learned and pious Mr. Law's Serious Call to Devotion. This truly valuable treatiſe I accidentally found on a clergyman's table, who, nevertheleſs, ſoon took it out of my hand, and gave ſuch a character of it, as might have diſcouraged me from looking farther into it, had not the place I had opened given me a quite different notion of it. However, as I could not prevail upon him to lend it me, I went and bought me one, and read it over and over, from beginning to end, with greater eagerneſs and ſatisfaction than any I had ever met with on that ſubject. I was particularly much taken with the author's motives, as well as his method for the right uſe of our time, money, talents, &c. not to mention that his variety of characters and reaſonings upon them, which are a continued appeal to the moſt unbiaſſed and ſoundeſt judgment, which admit of neither cavil

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or objection, ſoon opened to me a much better way of applying them to advantage, than any I had hitherto, or could indeed have fallen into, without ſuch an excellent guide. The directions he gives for the obtaining of thoſe Chriſtian virtues, which he there recommends as the proper ſubject for the ſeveral hours of prayer in the day, may indeed appear to have ſomething too technical (ſince it is no other than a daily renewing of thoſe very deſires, till themſelves become the virtues we want) from which too much of the ſucceſs may, by the light and thoughtleſs, be aſcribed to the method, and too little to the grace of God accompanying it. For may not, ſome will be apt to ſay, an honeſt heathen or deiſt, by the ſame method, raiſe himſelf up into a habit of ſobriety, chaſtity, &c. without any ſuch application to, or particular aſſiſtance from, the Supreme Being? yet let any ſerious perſon try the efficacy of it againſt any of his favourite, eſpecially his conſtitutional vices, and he will find, at length, that he hath been only trying to waſh a Blackmoor white, and muſt do ſo to the end of the chapter, without the intervention of Divine grace. As for me I ſhall always, I hope, look upon the deſire itſelf, as well as the ſucceſs of the means uſed for the obtaining any virtue, to be alike the work of God in the ſoul, let

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theſe be ſuch as Mr. Law directs, or any other, which Providence puts into our hands.

I had long before this, however, began to conſecrate part of my time to the ſtudy of the ſacred books, tho' not in that regular and uniform manner as I happily fell into after reading the excellent directory above mentioned, and had made a pretty collection of criticiſms, and other obſervations upon them, ſuch as occurred on my reading of the various commentators on them; and now it was that I became ſenſible, indeed, of my own want of knowledge of the original Hebrew, and to bewail the loſs of ſeveral opportunities I had miſſed of gaining a more perfect knowledge in that ſacred and uſeful tongue. For I had been ſo diſcouraged from the purſuit of it, by the difficulties I met with at the very threſhold, that is, in the grammars, that I never had the patience to go thro' one of them, but contented myſelf with the interlinary verſions of Pagninus Arias Montanus, and other interpreters; chuſing rather to rely on their honeſty and ſkill, than to be at the trouble of becoming a proper judge of either. It was not indeed poſſible for me to go on long in this groping way, before their various interpretations of the text, (eſpecially thoſe of ſome bold critics, which ſeemed calculated to unhinge, rather than confirm our belief, by exploding

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ſeveral, till then, acknowledged facts and doctrines, or interpreting them in their own artful way) ſet me again upon making ſome freſh efforts, for attaining a more perfect knowledge of the original, which were however ſoon damped by every freſh difficulty I met with in the common way of learning it, till I providentially ſtumbled, as it were, on the following eaſy method.

I was then hammering at an exercitation on the 34th Pſalm, printed at the end of the grammar that goes under the name of Bellarmine; in which I found at almoſt every word ſome exceptions to the grammar rules, and ſuch reaſons aſſigned for them as ſtill carried one farther from the point in view; when a poor man came and offered me a pocket Hebrew pſalter, with Leuſden's Latin verſion over againſt each page. I greedily bought it, and finding the verſion much more eaſy and natural than thoſe literal ones of Pagninus and Montanus, quickly went through every verſe in the book, without troubling myſelf about grammar, or any thing but the true meaning of every word as they occurred. So that by the time I had given it a ſecond reading, my memory being the beſt faculty I could boaſt of, I had by that very rote, as I may call it, not only gained a conſiderable copia verborum, but by obſervation on the flexion of nouns, verbs,

verbs, &c. got a tolerable inſight into the declenſions, conjugations, and other parts of the grammar and ſyntax; and, whenever any difficulty or doubt occurred, could eaſily turn to my Bellarmine or even Buxſtorf, the moſt diſcouraging of all; becauſe, having then but one point in view, I could, without perplexing my mind with any more than that, either ſatisfy myſelf about it, or at the worſt poſtpone it, till a further reading and obſervation brought me to it: I became ſo fond of this method, that having gone through a third reading of it, with little or no obſtacle, and in a very little time, I reſolved thenceforth to confine myſelf to the pſalms of each day, as they are read at church, and to begin with the hiſtorical books.

Here, inſtead of perplexing myſelf with ſuch Bibles as had the ſervile letters printed in a different kind of character, to diſtinguiſh them from the radicals, I pitched upon the firſt edition of that of Munſter, which is far inferior to the ſecond, and, by the help of his verſion on the oppoſite column, though often at ſeveral lines diſtance from the original, had hardly gone through ſix or eight chapters of the firſt book of Samuel, before the eaſe I found in it invited me to go back to Geneſis, and take every chapter in its courſe. I reſolved at firſt to run them over once, without taking notice of his notes,

notes, becauſe the greateſt part of them were either of the Maſſoretic or of the Cabbaliſtical kind, and would rather clog than aſſiſt; and even in theſe of the grammatical ſort he lays all along ſo great a ſtreſs on the punctuation for the true meaning and import of each word, as made his verſion the leſs to be depended upon. For though I always did and do ſtill look upon the points to be of ſingular help to learners, and conſequently on the method propoſed by ſome moderns of teaching the Hebrew without them, as wild, intricate, and in ſome caſes dangerous, yet from all I had been able to gather from the learned authors who have wrote on the controverſy, I was ſo far from thinking them of the ſame authority with the text, that they plainly appeared of too modern a date to be uſed in any other ſhape than as an expeditious help; and as ſuch I ſtill made uſe of them, without confining myſelf to them any farther than they were ſupported by the dialect, by the ancient paraphraſes and verſions, and other ſuch critical helps, but made no ſcruple to depart from then whenever a ſmall change of them could afford one a clearer or better ſenſe. And for that I ſhall refer the reader to what I have ſince wrote on that ſo much controverted ſubject in the Jewiſh hiſtory, which makes the ſeventh chapter of the Univerſal Hiſtory, and eſpecially in the folio

folio edition, where I had more room to expatiate upon it than in the octavo one, in which our being confined to reduce the whole within the compaſs of twenty volumes, obliged us to be a little more conciſe. I muſt therefore here own with pleaſure, that all that I there advanced hath been ſo well received, and looked upon as ſo well grounded, that it hath not, that I know of, been ſince cenſured or contradicted; and that though the controverſy in favour of the antiquity and authority of the points hath been of late revived with no ſmall warmth, I have met with nothing in it, nor heard from either thoſe I converſe or correſpond with, any thing that could give me cauſe to alter my mind. I ſhall only beg leave to add, that my looking on the Hebrew points, both vowel and grammatical, only in that view, enabled me to make many uſeful diſcoveries in the ſacred books, which have been highly approved by thoſe who have ſince read them in the hiſtory abovementioned.

But to return to my firſt reading of the original books, I ran with eaſe through the Pentateuch, Joſhua, Judges, &c. except the few poetical parts which occur in it, ſuch as Exod. xv. paſſ. Deut. xxxii. Judges v. 1 Samuel ii. 1—10. where the ſtile is not only ſwoln and figurative, but where the conſtruction is harſh, irregular, and to appearance truncated,

truncated, and ſeveral terms which occur no where elſe; ſo that finding them too hard for me to ſurmount, with all the application I had, I poſtponed them to a future reading. I found likewiſe pretty near the ſame difficulty in the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Song of Solomon, and much more ſtill in Job; and therefore contented myſelf with catching as much as I could at one curſory reading, and leaving the reſt for hereafter; yet did not this diſcourage me from going through all the Prophets in courſe, though it proved an arduous taſk, and I went but ſlowly on, becauſe in theſe I endeavoured to make myſelf as much maſter of their meaning and ſtile, as well as of the new words and phraſes peculiar to them: and as I ſpent generally ſome hours a day on that ſtudy, I had quickly gone through all the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, excepting thoſe chapters in Daniel, Ezra, &c. which are in the Chaldee, and where I contented myſelf at this firſt reading, with examining as well as I was able, the difference between that and the Hebrew. And here I own I found ſuch a diſparity between them, ſuch a noble ſimplicity, and yet maſculine energy in the latter, and ſuch an apparent ſoftneſs and effeminacy in the former, not unlike what is juſtly obſerved between Latin and Italian, that I believe nothing could have tempted me

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to become more acquainted with it, had it not been for the vaſt helps which the Chaldee paraphraſe affords us, not only in fixing the meaning of many obſcure words and expreſſions, but, what is ſtill more valuable, in diſcovering the ſentiments of the ancient Jews concerning many pregnant prophecies of the Meſſiah, from which the Talmudic writers have ſince departed out of diſlike to him.

When I came to the ſecond reading of Geneſis, by which time I had likewiſe ran through the Pſalms five or ſix times, and was got again into the hiſtorical ſtile, I found myſelf ſo unclogged, ſo acquainted with the grammar and ſyntax, and maſter of ſuch a vaſt number of words, that I began to think I might begin to read the Latin into Hebrew; that is, by hiding the Hebrew column with my hand, try how I could make my own agree to it. This I found however too hard and tedious, except in ſome eaſy places or chapters, and I found myſelf not only at a loſs for the words, but moſtly in the conjugating and ſyntax, and though it might in all likelihood have quitted coſt, had I proceeded regularly in that method, yet I found it too tedious, as it took me above twice the time, ſo that I contented myſelf with only trying it now and then, when the humour took, or the ſubject invited me to it. At

other leiſure times, I uſed likewiſe to exerciſe myſelf in conjugating of verbs by dint of memory and obſervation, and then to compare it with thoſe in the grammar, by which I ſoon found out wherein I was deficient, and this I thought more expeditious, diverting, and effectual, than the dull method of beginners, who, by dint of hammering, learn them by heart, ſcarcely knowing what they are about. One thing however I found would be a great help, viz. in all dubious words, as the Hebrew is ſo figurative and ſcanty, to have recourſe to the Lexicon, in order to find out the primitive ſenſe of them from the more remote, which it was eaſy to do by the parallel texts there pointed at, where they occurred. This method duly attended to, opens a ſpacious inſight into the true meaning of the ſacred books. Thus I found for inſtance in the words מרחפת רוח אלהים Geneſis i. 2. the ſpirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, compared with the motion of the eagle in ſtirring her young ones to flight, Deut. xxxii. 11. that the verb רחף in the former, in its primitive ſenſe, is not ſuch a motion as our verſion expreſſes, nor a brooding like that of the hen over her eggs, as ſome other tranſlations intimate, but a lively agitation, ſuch as much better explains the action of the ſpirit of God upon the face of the waters.

waters. This method, which I perferred to the conſulting that variety of verſions we have, which rather confound than fix the ſenſe, enabled me, in my very ſecond going through the ſacred books, to make a pretty large collection of ſuch kind of criticiſms and obſervations, as have been ſince of ſingular uſe to me in the progreſs of my ſtudy, and in ſome of thoſe works in which I have been ſince engaged, though I little thought then that either they, or thoſe which I made out of other authors that came in my way, would ever come into public view.

I had by this time made ſo great a proficiency in the Hebrew tongue, that I could have talked it pretty fluently, had I been as well acquainted with the pronunciation of it. But as that could not be attained from grammars, which differed almoſt as much in the rules they gave for it, as the native languages of their authors differed from each other, I thought it might be more eaſily attained by converſing with the Jews themſelves, going to their ſynagogues, and hearing the Scriptures read by their chazans or miniſters, who, I ſuppoſed, were perfect maſters of it. But here, to my great ſurpriſe, I found that they not only greatly differed among themſelves, that is, the northern from the ſouthern, or German, Poliſh, Hungarian, &c. from the Spaniſh, Portu-

gueſe, Italian, &c. but that every one of them pronounced it after the ſame manner as they did the languages of the countries where they had been brought up, and, as it plainly appeared to me, none of them right. And this was farther confirmed to me by converſing with ſome Morocco Jews, whoſe native language being the Arabic, made me think they bid faireſt for having retained the antient pronunciation in a greater degree at leaſt of purity; for ſome of them whom I met with by chance in the Portugueſe ſynagogue, made a mere ridicule of their way of reading and pronouncing it. And it was by converſing with ſome of theſe, who were beſides well acquainted with the Hebrew, that I took my rules for a more genuine way of ſpeaking it: and it was no ſmall pleaſure to me to find, that I could be very readily underſtood by all the ſouthern Jews, though I could not ſo eaſily underſtand them, on account of their not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing between the ſounding of ſundry conſonants, aſpirations, gutturals, &c. which ſeemed to me to have originally differed very greatly; ſuch as the שׁ and שׂ and ם the ק and ח the ע and א the ת and ט and צ &c. but between which they do not make any diſtinction, nor indeed can, for want of having been taught it in their youth. In the ſame manner do they

they murder it, when they go about to write it in European characters, witneſs that Spaniſh dialogue of the famed R. Netto, intituled אש דת eſh dath, the legal fire, but which he ſpells, after his Spaniſh manner of pronouncing, *es dat.* However, after I had once been fully appriſed of all the defects of their reading, which ſeveral of them I have converſed with have had the ingenuity to own as ſuch, I could eaſily enough underſtand both their lectures of the Old Teſtament and their prayers. But as to the northern Jews, I own I never could converſe with them in that tongue, without an interpreter, or ſome go-between, who, by the help of travelling into other parts, had learned the way to accomodate their ſpeech to both ways of pronouncing, ſo much wider and uncooth is theirs to that of the ſouthern; and this was no ſmall grief to me, becauſe I alwas found the northern more learned and communicative, as well as more fluent and ready at ſpeaking that ſacred tongue; though that conſideration was never ſufficient to induce me to be at the pains to accuſtom myſelf to their way. Thus much I thought might be neceſſary to ſay with reſpect to the pronunciation of the Hebrew, to which I ſhall only add, that my method for learning and preſerving it was by reading it aloud to

myſelf, and with the ſame exactneſs, as if I had been reading it to an aſſembly.

But what contributed moſt to this extraordinary readineſs of ſpeaking it, was a method I fell into at proper times, when I found myſelf inclined to cloſe thinking, to cloath my ideas in that, inſtead of any other language, or, as one may more properly word it, to think in Hebrew rather than in Engliſh, or any other language I was uſed to. The Pſalter, which at my firſt ſetting up for this ſtudy, I had read over for ſome time, at leaſt three or four times a month, and afterwards conſtantly went thought once a month ever ſince, was become ſo familiar to me, that I had got it by heart; and as that contains moſt of the radical words, as well as idioms, which are moſt in uſe, I ſeldom was at a loſs for either in theſe my ſoliloquies, or if I was, I immediately endeavoured to call to mind where I had read any thing like it, either in that or any other of the ſacred books, and by turning to it, if I could not readily recover it by dint of memory, ſeldom failed of fixing it there indeliby. By this means I ſoon acquired not only a ſurpriſing fluency in it, but could ſpeak it in the pure and elegant ſtile of the ſacred writers, and now and then, upon occaſion, raiſe it to the lofty ſtrain of the poetical books. This I was the more admired for, becauſe it was

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what few, if any, of the learned among the Jews could do, who commonly marred their own by an heterogeneous mixture of the corrupt Talmudic and Rabbinic words and idioms, to which I was then in a great meaſure a ſtranger, nor could ever be reconciled to after I became more acquainted with them. One may, indeed, obſerve almoſt the ſame difference between the former and the latter, ſome few of theſe excepted, as there is between the Latin of the Auguſtin age, and that which was in vogue after the inundation of the northern barbarians into the Roman empire, as the reader may ſee by what I have ſaid of it in my Hiſtory of the Jews from their Diſperſion after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem to this time.

By what I have ſaid hitherto of my method of learning Hebrew, any one may ſee how eaſily men at years of maturity may come to as perfect knowledge of it, as the thing will admit of, and without the diſcouraging ſlavery of beginning at the grammar, and may even make that a pleaſing relaxation from other ſtudies; and it is with a view of leſſening, if not altogether removing thoſe fancied difficulties and diſcouragements which have been the cauſe of that ſacred tongue being ſo much, and, I may add, ſo ſhamefully neglected, by the clergy eſpecially, that I have ventured to write ſo far on that ſubject from my own ex-

perience; for, let them think of or palliate it as they will, ſuch a neglect muſt of neceſſity be condemned, by all who ſeriouſly conſider how impoſſible it is to come at a true knowledge, not only of the Old, but, I will be bold to ſay, of the New Teſtament, without a ſufficient knowledge of the Hebrew: the firſt ſeems to me ſelf-evident, and with reſpect to the ſecond, or New Teſtament, I need only obſerve, that the writers of it, though inſpired, and endowed with the gift of tongues, did viſibly adhere ſtill to the Hebrew idiom in which they had been brought up, St Paul himſelf not excepted. Hence, the vaſt quantity of Hebraiſms that occur more or leſs in the Goſpels, Acts, and in the Epiſtles, and which never can be rightly underſtood or explained, but by having recourſe to the Hebrew idiom; but this hath been ſo fully diſplayed by much better pens, that I ſhall ſay no more on the ſubject

I have often wiſhed, indeed, that we had ſome more inviting helps to that ſtudy than we have, and ſuch as might more effectually contribute to overcome the averſion, or indifference, which our young clergy ſeem to have for it. And in order to contribute ſomething more than a bare wiſh towards it, I had once gone a good way in compoſing a tragi-comic piece, intituled, David and Michol, in Hebrew verſe, wherein I introduced

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this young princeſs, acknowledging, with a ſuitable reluctancy and ſhame, to her confident, her new born affection for the young ſhepherd, after ſhe had ſeen him unperceived from behind a curtain in her father's pavilion, and heard ſome of theſe inimitable ſtrains with which he was wont to enliven that deſponding monarch in his moſt melancholy hours. The diſtreſs ariſing from the apprehended rivalſhip of her eldeſt ſiſter, who was ſoon after promiſed as a reward to that brave youth, for killing the vapouring champion of the Philiſtines and Morabs, being repreſented here as having already ſettled her affections on Adriel the Meholathite, to whom Saul actually gave her ſoon after, contrary to his promiſe (1 Sam. xviii. 19.) the different fears and emotions of the two ſiſters, the means by which they came to underſtand each other's caſe and inclinations, the ſingular affection of Jonathan towards David, and the kind offices he did him with Saul, in order to procure him his beloved Michol, inſtead of her ſiſter; all theſe, I ſay, are repreſented in divers affecting ſcenes, to which the energy of the Hebrew gives no ſmall beauty and pathos. The epiſodes, the moſt conſiderable of which conſiſt of ſeveral interviews and conferences between the prophet Samuel and young David, as when

when he acquainted him with Saul's utter rejection, and his being choſen by God to ſucceded him in the Iſraelitiſh kingdom, David's ſurpriſe, ſcruples and fears, his dread of entertaining even the moſt diſtant hope of a crown, which he could not obtain but by the moſt unnatural and blackeſt treaſon againſt his father-in-law, and his moſt generous friend Jonathan, and the arguments by which the prophet endeavours to ſatisfy his ſcrupulous mind, that he ſhall enjoy the promiſed crown, without the leaſt ſtain to his loyalty, and at length prevails on him to ſuffer himſelf to be anointed king; theſe, and ſome others of leſs importance, are not improper interludes to bring the piece to its happy cataſtrophe, his marrying the kind and beloved Michol, and being juſtly raiſed to the command of the Iſraelitiſh army. To this I had added a literal verſion, which I deſigned to have illuſtrated with critical notes; but ſome avocations obliged me to ſet it aſide for a conſiderable number of years, and when I came to give it a freſh reading, I found it to fall ſo ſhort of the elegance and loftineſs of the ſacred poets, with whom I was become by that time much better acquainted, and a much greater admirer of, that I was quite diſcouraged from improving or even finiſhing, eſpecially when

I conſidered the little likelihood there was of its meeting with encouragement anſwerable to the pains and coſt, at a time when one might obſerve the ſtudy of that tongue to dwindle more and more viſibly into contempt, among thoſe whoſe duty and buſineſs it ought to have been to cultivate and promote it.

The ſame mortifying conſideration made me likewiſe ſet aſide a deſign I had formed, of compiling ſome ſcriptural Hebrew dialogues, in imitation of the Latin ones of Caſtalio, and a ſet of others on more common ſubjects, like thoſe of Corderius, tho' not ſo puerile, for the encouragement and diverſion of young beginners; and a third between a Jew, and a Chriſtian, on the moſt material points of controverſy between us, together with a collection and expoſition of a great number of texts, both in the Old and New Teſtament, plainly foretelling the future reſtoration of the twelve tribes of Iſrael to their own land, and their embracing the Chriſtian religion at the ſecond coming of Chriſt, towards the cloſe of the ſixth, or in the beginning of the ſeventh millenary of the world; for though that doctrine is, as the Jews at Rome ſaid of Chriſtianity, every where ſpoken againſt, (Acts, cap. ult. v. 22.) I never found it to be ſo but by men who, like theſe Jews had never rightly conſidered it;

it; whilſt thoſe who really have, (among whom I have known ſeveral eminent divines of the church of England, and ſome among the Diſſenters who were thoroughly ſatisfied with it) contented themſelves with owning their belief of it to their intimate friends, without daring to preach or promote it, for fear of being reflected or ridiculed for it. But I have had frequent occaſion to obſerve ſince (vide Jual un Heſtor, fol. edit. vol. i. p. 613, &c. 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 39. and above all, ſee the concluſion of their hiſtory, from the diſperſion to this preſent time) that the Chriſtians denying that doctrine, is one of the moſt effectual means not only of hardening the Jews in their unbelief, but of unhinging one of the greateſt evidences of the Chriſtian faith, ſince it cannot be proved in any ſenſe, that any of thoſe glorious prophecies concerning the happy ſtate of the Jews under the Meſſiah, which are ſcattered through the Old and New Teſtament, have been fulfilled, but that, on the contrary, they have for the moſt part been hated, perſecuted and miſerable, in moſt countries in the world, ever ſince the death of Chriſt. However, as I had little encouragement to hope that ſuch a ſubject, written in Hebrew, how beneficial ſoever it might have proved, at leaſt to young beginners, eſpecially by the help of the Latin verſion, would reliſh with the

the preſent age, I likewiſe poſtponed it for ſome happier time, which is not yet come, if ever I ſhould live to ſee it.

I therefore contented myſelf with preparing for the preſs a new edition of the Pſalms, with Leuſden's Latin verſion over againſt it, and ſome critical and other notes for the uſe of the learners, interſperſed here and there, with others of a more curious nature, on ſeveral deficient places of that book, and moſt of them new. To this I deſigned a preface, that ſhould give an account of the method by which I had, chiefly by the means of the pſalms, attained to my knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, in the manner I have lately related. I deſigned to add ſome further directions than thoſe I have mentioned, with reſpect to the more eaſy attaining a readineſs of underſtanding and ſpeaking it, one of which was, in the frequent reading to change the third into the ſecond perſon at proper places, and ſo turning the pſalm into a kind of prayer, which, by raiſing the attention, imprints the words more in the mind, as well as familiarizes the conjugating of the verbs, &c. and this I found a great help to my progreſs, and was approved by ſome judges, upon which I acquainted Mr. Palmer, of Bartholomew's Cloſe, one of the beſt printers then in England, with my deſign, and was ſurpriſed one day on my coming

coming to talk further about it, to hear that the reverend Dr. W—— had been there juſt before, to treat with him about printing a new edition of it, ſaid to have been compiled by Dr. Hare, ſince biſhop of Chicheſter, who pretended to have found out the true metre of the Pſalms, and by means of that to have made a great number of conſiderable diſcoveries and emendations in the original. I knew but too well how many excellent critics had already ſplit upon that fatal rock, and who, inſtead of correcting, had quite marred the Hebrew, by diſtorting, tranſpoſing and altering it at pleaſure, in order to bring it to their model, to expect any thing ſolid or ſatisfactory from that quarter, conſidering eſpecially the character of the author. Nor was I miſtaken, though this performance did not appear in print till ſeven or eight years after, and then to my great ſurpriſe. For Mr. Palmer had amuſed me with the belief that the deſign was ſet aſide, either on account of its being found impracticable, or at leaſt too difficult and dangerous; for that, upon his applying to Dr. W—— to enquire further about it, he had received ſuch evaſive anſwers, as plainly convinced him, that the author did not deſign to go on with it, which ſtill confirmed me more in my old opinion, that all attempts to recover the ancient metre of the

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ſacred poetical books, were fruitleſs and loſt labour. It appeared however, as I ſhall ſhow hereafter, that Mr. Palmer impoſed upon me, and that he knew that the deſign was carried on in another printing-houſe, though with ſuch privacy, that I never heard or dreamed of it, though I had been long acquainted with Mr. Bowyer, who was employed in the printing of it. So far from it was I, that I began to think Mr. Palmer had only invented that ſtory to divert me from printing my propoſed edition, in order to ſet me upon another work, in which he was more immediately concerned, and expected greater credit, as well as preſent profit from. This was his hiſtory of printing, which he had long promiſed to the world, but for which he was not at all qualified. However, he deſigned to have added a ſecond part, relating to the practical art, which was more ſuited to his genius, and in which he deſigned to have given a full account of all that relates to that branch, from the letter-founding to the moſt elegant way of printing, impoſing, binding, &c. in which he had made conſiderable improvements of his own, beſides thoſe he had taken from foreign authors; but this ſecond part, though but then as it were in embryo, met with ſuch early and ſtrenuous oppoſition from the reſpective bodies of letter-founders, printers, and bookbinders, under

under an ill-grounded apprehenſion, that the diſcovery of the myſtery of thoſe arts, eſpecially the two firſt, would render them cheap and contemptible (whereas the very reverſe would have been the caſe, they appearing indeed the more curious and worthy our admiration, the better they are known) that he was forced to ſet it aſide. But as to the firſt part, viz. the hiſtory of printing, he met with the greateſt encouragement, not only from them, but from a very great number of the learned, who all engaged to ſubſcribe largely to it, particularly the late earls of Pembroke and Oxford, and the famous doctor Mead, whoſe libraries were to furniſh him with the nobleſt materials for the compiling of it, and did ſo accordingly.

The misfortune was, that Mr. Palmer, knowing himſelf unequal to the task, had turned it over to one Papiat, a broken Iriſh bookſeller then in London, of whom he had a great opinion, though ſtill more unqualified for it than he, and only aimed at getting money from him, without ever doing any thing towards it, except amuſing him with fair promiſes for near three quarters of a year. He had ſo long dallied with him that they were come within three months of the time in which Mr. Palmer had engaged to produce a compleat plan, and a number or two of the firſt part, by way of ſpecimen

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of the work, viz. the invention and improvement of it by John Fauſt at Mentz; and theſe were to be ſhewn at a grand meeting of learned men, of which Dr. Mead was preſident that year, and being his ſingular friend and patron, was to have promoted a large ſubſcription and payment, which Mr. Palmer ſtood in great need of at that time. Whereas Papiat had got nothing ready but a few looſe and imperfect extracts out of Chevalier la Caille, and ſome other French authors on the ſubject, but which could be of little or no uſe, becauſe he frequently miſtook them, and left blanks for the words he did not underſtand.

Theſe however, ſuch as they were, Mr. Palmer brought to me, and earneſtly preſſed me that I would ſet aſide all other things I might be then about, and try to produce the expected plan and ſpecimen by the time promiſed, ſince he muſt be ruined both in credit and pocket, if he diſappointed his friends of it. It was well for him and me, that the ſubject lay within ſo ſmall a compaſs as the conſulting of about twelve or fourteen principal authors, and the controverſy between Mentz and Harlem univerſally decided in favour of the former, ſo that I eaſily fell upon a proper plan of the work, which I divided into three parts, the firſt of which was to give an account of the invention of the art, and

its firſt eſſays by Fauſt at Mentz, and of its improvement by fuſile or metal types, varniſh, ink, &c. by his ſon-in-law Peter Schoeffer. The ſecond was to contain its propagation and further improvement through moſt part of Europe, under the moſt celebrated printers, and the third an account of its introduction and progreſs into England. This, together with above one half of the firſt part, were happily finiſhed, and produced by the time appointed, and met with more approbation and encouragement from his friends than I feared it would, being conſcious how much better it might have turned out, would time have permitted it. And this I chiefly mention, not ſo much to excuſe the defects of ſuch a horrid performance, as becauſe it hath given me ſince frequent occaſion to obſerve how many much more conſiderable works have been ſpoiled, both at home and abroad, through the impatience of the ſubſcribers; though this is far enough from being the only, or even the greateſt inconvenience that attends moſt of thoſe kinds of ſubſcriptions.

As to Mr. Palmer, his circumſtances were by this time ſo unaccountably low and unfortunate, conſidering the largeneſs and ſucceſs of his buſineſs, and that he was himſelf a ſober induſtrious man, and free from all extravagance, that he could not extricate himſelf

himſelf by any other way, but by a ſtatute of bankrupt, which cauſed his hiſtory to go ſluggiſhly on; ſo that notwithſtanding all the care and kind aſſiſtance of his good friend Dr. Mead, a ſtubborn diſtemper, which his misfortunes brought upon him, carried him off before the third part of it was finiſhed. This defect, however, was happily ſupplied by the late noble earl of Pembroke, who being informed by Mr. Pain the engraver, Mr. Palmer's brother-in-law, what condition the remainder was left in, and that I was the perſon who had wrote the former parts, ſent for me, and, with his uſual generoſity, enjoined me to compleat the work, according to the plan; and not only defrayed all the charges of it, even of the paper and printing, but furniſhed me with all neceſſary materials out of his own library; and, when the work was finiſhed, his lordſhip reſerved only ſome few copies to himſelf, and gave the remainder of the impreſſion to Mr. Palmer's widow, not without ſome farther tokens of his liberality.

Before I leave this ſubject, I muſt, in juſtice to that noble peer, give an inſtance or two of his generoſity and ſingular integrity. At my firſt coming into England, I had had the honour to be introduced to him, and to dine with him and other great perſons in his company, and had received no ſmall tokens

of his regard, till he conceived a juſt diſguſt at one abſurd fact I had affirmed in my fabulous hiſtory of Formoſa, viz. the Greek tongue being taught there as a learned language, which monſtrous abſurdity ſufficiently ſhewed my ignorance and indiſcretion at the time of my writing it, and from that time his lordſhip gave me up for what I was, an impoſtor, and I ſaw him no more, till above twenty-eight years after, when Mr. Pine brought me to him, in order to finiſh the book abovementioned. At my firſt coming into his preſence, his lordſhip preſently knew me again, and reminded me of my having been often with him, and of the reaſon of his taking a diſlike to me; upon which I readily owned the juſtneſs of the charge, and of his reſentment, which I begged his lordſhip to look upon as the effect of a raſh inconſiderate piece of youthful vanity, which I had long ſince diſclaimed, and condemned myſelf for, and aſſured him, that I had ſince then, I thanked God, fallen into ſo laudable a way of living, as I doubted not his lordſhip, if he knew of it, would not but approve of. Mr. Pine confirmed what I had ſaid; and his lordſhip with his uſual affability and condeſcenſion, highly congratulated and commended me for it, and was pleaſed to expreſs a more than ordinary pleaſure at it, exhorting me to continue in the ſame good

good mind and way, and aſſuring me of his friendſhip and encouragement, and from that time I cannot ſufficiently acknowledge his extreme benevolence and condeſcenſion, in not only furniſhing me with all the books and other helps I wanted, but in his generouſly rewarding me for what I did, and when I was forced afterwards to acquaint him that I was a perſon concerned in the writing of the Univerſal Hiſtory, became a ſubſcriber and encourager of it, as I ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſhew. It was a little before Mr. Palmer's death, that this work, the project of which had been formed by Mr. Crockat, and the excellent plan by the late famed Mr. Sale, met with an unexpected ſtop, by an unhappy quarrel between the proprietors and the authors, at the head of whom was Mr. Sale abovementioned, when I was recommended to the former as a proper perſon to ſupply the place of ſome of the latter, who had abſolutely declined being farther concerned in it. This rupture happened ſoon after the publication of the third number, anno 1730, when Mr. Palmer brought me the three printed numbers from the proprietors, and deſired, if after having read them and the plan, I had a mind to engage myſelf in the work, I ſhould give them and the reſt of the authors a meeting at a place and day appointed, which

I accordingly did, and after having informed myſelf with their terms, method, and other previous particulars, readily undertook to write the Jewiſh hiſtory, in which I was the moſt verſed, and for which I knew myſelf already provided with a conſiderable quantity and variety of materials, which I had been collecting for my private uſe for ſeveral years; and as I have been one of the chief perſons concerned as an author, not only in the firſt, but alſo in the ſecond edition, and ſo was perfectly acquainted with every ſtep taken in the progreſs of the work, the encouragements and difficulties it hath met with, as well as with the merit and demerit of every part of it, I ſhall make no difficulty to inſert here a faithful and impartial account of the whole, at leaſt ſo far as it may be of ſervice to the public, and prove a means of making any future editions more compleat, by pointing out the many falſe ſteps which I found were impoſſible for us to avoid in the two former.

And here I muſt obſerve, in the firſt place, that though the deſign was publicly pretended to be carried on by a ſociety of learned gentlemen, yet in fact Mr. Sale was to be the ſole conductor of it, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch ammanuenſes as he ſhould think fit to employ in the work. And though, in point of learning, no man might be

be better qualified than he for ſuch an arduous and extenſive undertaking, yet his known ſtrait circumſtances obliged him to have ſo many other irons in the fire (to ſay nothing of his natural indolence, the ſad effects of which, not only the proprietors of this work, but many others of that profeſſion have ſufficiently felt) that it was impoſſible for him to give it that attention which a work of that nature deſerved, much leſs the diſpatch he had engaged with them for, viz. the publiſhing twenty ſheets per month. Accordingly upon enquiry I could not find that he ever wrote more than the firſt number; which though puffed up with the ſpecious pretence of a ſecond edition, every reader verſed on the ſubjects treated it it, might eaſily know where he had got all his materials ready gathered to his hand; yet ſo long was he in publiſhing it, that this delay occaſioned the firſt miſunderſtanding between him and the proprietors, which was however followed by a greater.

The ſecond and third numbers, which appeared afterwards to have been written by his two ammanuenſes, till then unknown to the partners, came out indeed more regularly; but the proprietors, who had already paid Mr. Sale for them, were not a little ſurpriſed when the two young authors

(whom I forbear naming, becauſe they are both alive and make a good figure, the one in a high poſt, and the other in the commonwealth of learning) came and demanded the money for their copy. The proprietors did indeed produce his receipts for much greater ſums than the three numbers could amount to, but though they knew that he was not in a capacity to pay them, they refuſed to make a ſecond diſburſement for what they had more than payed for, whilſt the ſufferers, on the other hand, refuſed to go on further with the work, till they were ſatisfied for what they had done. The partners ſtiffly refuſing to comply, the reſult was, that one of them not only quite declined all further meddling in the work, but vented his reſentment by crying it down, and all the perſons concerned in it, authors as well as proprietors. Mr. Sale was ſtill more outrageous againſt them, of whom the latter had taken a note of 72 pounds, payable on demand, for money overpaid, and the embezzlement of a conſiderable number of books, which they had furniſhed him to carry on the deſign. This note was probably taken with a view of keeping him in awe, but neither that nor their threats could contain him within bounds, ſo that he became a moſt inveterate

enemy

enemy to the deſign, and did all he could to diſcredit and obſtruct it.

This was the hopeleſs ſituation of the work at my firſt being invited to it, and againſt which I cannot forbear mentioning another diſcouragement, viz. the freedom which the authors of the foregoing part had taken in reflecting, as often as they had opportunity, againſt the Moſaic account, eſpecially in the hiſtory of the ancient Canaanites, where God is recorded to have treated them with ſuch ſeverity in favour of the Iſraelites, and where they made no difficulty to reflect upon that partiality, as inconſiſtent with the divine juſtice and goodneſs towards a favourite nation, who are there repreſented as by far the worſe of the two: for, as I took the liberty to obſerve to them, beſides that all the objections againſt the divine conduct in this particular have been ſo often and ſo effectually anſwered by learned divines, that there can be no juſtifiable reaſon given for reviving them here, this manner of treating Moſes's writings is far below the regard that ſuch an antient and celebrated author may challenge, abſtractedly even from his being acknowledged an inſpired penman, by Jews, Turks and Chriſtians. And therefore added, I will never engage in the work, unleſs you will allow me to follow the oppoſite tract, and,

and, inſtead of reflecting, to vindicate both his character and writings, as often as occaſion offers, either from the works of our beſt divines, or from ſundry new obſervations I have had opportunity to make on the books of that divine lawgiver. I much queſtion, if they had not been at ſuch a nonplus for a hand to go immediately upon the Jewiſh hiſtory, whether they would have ever yielded to theſe terms, ſuch was their opinion of Mr. Sale, whom they knew had no great regard for the Old Teſtament, and who had long ago inſpired one, if not both of his ammanuenſes, with a moſt outrageous zeal againſt it. However, I got them with ſome trouble to acquieſce, and let me take my own way, only Mr. Provoſt, then one of the partners, begged it as a favour of me, that I *would not be righteous over much.*

I gave them ſoon after good cauſe to be ſatisfied with my advice and conduct, and the unexpected encouragement which the work met with, after the regular publication of two or three numbers of the Jewiſh hiſtory (to ſay nothing of the commendations given to it in print, by two ſuch learned perſons as Dr. Chapman, chaplain to his grace of Canterbury, and Dr. Pearce, rector of St. Martin's in the fields) raiſed it into ſuch reputation and vogue, that they

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no longer doubted of its ſucceſs; inſo-much that they began now to enlarge the edition from 750 to 1000. And this I mention with pleaſure, becauſe the great call there was for it from that time, to what they had found before, when the numbers were returned to them by dozens from other bookſellers, plainly ſhewed how few encouragers it would have met with among the freethinkers and unbelievers, to what it did among thoſe of a different, and I may add, of a better way of thinking. There was indeed one main objection made, viz. my claſhing with thoſe who had gone before me; and I remember more particularly, that the late earl of Pembroke (who, as I lately hinted, was an encourager of the work, and to whom I was obliged to excuſe my not waiting ſo often on him as he deſired, in order to finiſh the third part of Mr. Palmer's hiſtory above mentioned, by acquainting his lordſhip that much of my time was taken up with the Univerſal Hiſtory, in which I was engaged) expreſſed no ſmall diſlike at this contraſt, or, as he was pleaſed to call it, chequer-work between the Jewiſh hiſtory, and ſome of the numbers that preceded it; the one expreſſing all along an unaccountable diſregard for the Moſaic writings, whilſt the other took all proper occaſion to vindicate them,

in a manner which he was pleaſed to call ſo very laudable and juſt; upon which I was forced to acquaint his lordſhip, that the former part had been printed ſome time before I was concerned in the work, and written by perſons in a very different way of thinking from me, and which I had publicly diſallowed; but as they had ſince declined the work, the proprietors had left me wholly at my liberty to take my own way, which I was fully determined to purſue to the end, ſo that there would be no more ſuch contradictions to be found in the ſequel, becauſe all that related to the Jewiſh nation down to their diſperſion at the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, or even from that to the preſent time, if we were encouraged to continue it, would fall to my ſhare; and that thoſe who were to write the hiſtories of the Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, and other nations which had any connection with the Jewiſh, ſhould be obliged to follow the ſame tract, and acknowledge the divine authority of the Old Teſtament. This his lordſhip highly approved, and as to the remaining difficulty, viz. the reconciling what was already printed, and he thought paſt remedying, I told his lordſhip, that the greateſt part of theſe early numbers having been miſlaid, and ſo bandied about and waſted that there would be

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ſpeedily a neceſſity of reprinting them, I would engage to reviſe and correct them, ſo as to make the whole uniform, which was ſoon after done accordingly. But when, for the credit of the work, I propoſed to the proprietors the calling in of the old numbers, and giving the purchaſers the new ones in lieu of them, the greater part of them lent a deaf ear to it, alledging, that they were ſo much out of pocket already, that they could not afford to deſtroy ſo great a number of copies for the ſake of uniformity, and that the work muſt take its chance without it.

This was not the only inſtance in which they ſtood in their own light; I ſhall beg leave to add one or two more. Before the ninth number of the firſt volume had been publiſhed, they had received ſeveral letters from the learned both at home and abroad, directed to the authors, particularly two from Holland, the one from a perſon who tranſlated our hiſtory into French, and the other into Dutch, and publiſhed them there regularly every month, as we did here. Theſe, among other commendations and encouragements, deſired us to ſend them the ſheets as faſt as printed here, for the better diſpatch of their verſion, and keeping time with us; offering to make any reaſonable ſatisfaction for it,

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and to promote the credit and ſale of the Engliſh original on the other ſide the water. The Dutch tranſlator in particular, who was a man of learning and character, acquainted us, not without a handſome and modeſt apology, with ſome alterations and deviations he had taken the liberty to make from our printed copy, in the three or four firſt numbers, and deſired us above all things to ſettle a correſpondence with him, that we might freely communicate our thoughts to one another, promiſing to ſend us, at the concluſion of each volume; a copy of his verſion, with the alterations marked in the margin, and the ſentiments of the learned beyond ſea about the work; which he accordingly did at the cloſe of his firſt volume, though we had not been able to prevail upon the proprietors to ſend them the ſheets in the manner above deſired, and were not willing to do it without their conſent, they being all apprehenſive that theſe verſions would hinder the ſale of the Engliſh original there. We tried in vain to convince them of the contrary, by ſhewing them that it would rather forward it, by making it more known and famed abroad; for that not only the Engliſh there, but likewiſe thoſe who underſtood that language, would ſtill chuſe to read it in the original rather than in a verſion.

ſion. I likewiſe tried to make them ſenſible how neceſſary and uſeful ſuch a correſpondence would be to us, and how much it would in all likelihood contribute to the credit and reputation of the work, and what need we ſtood in to uſe all proper helps, in a work of ſo arduous and extenſive a nature. The only thing they would agree to was, that we might, if we thought fit, ſtill correſpond with them, (and that they knew we could do without their leave) but as to the ſending the ſheets as ſoon as printed, they abſolutely refuſed; ſo that we were forced to put an end to the one for want of being able to comply with the other.

The next inſtance I ſhall give is ſtill of a more ſordid nature. They were obliged to furniſh us with all neceſſary books for the work, and on my firſt going upon the Jewiſh hiſtory, I ſent them a liſt of ſuch as were really wanted, though ſome of them very conſiderable both in bulk and value, ſuch as the Thalmuds, Polyglott, Opera Criticorum, &c. and was ſurpriſed at the difficulties they made, and objections they raiſed againſt both the number and charge of them, alledging, on the one hand, the vaſt number of them that had been formerly embezzled and loſt, which they pretended to amount to near 200 *l.* and, on the other,

other, the vaſt expence they had already been at, and the little returns made for it in the four firſt numbers; ſo that if I would not diſpenſe with a good number of the deareſt ſort, they were afraid they muſt deſiſt from proceeding farther. It was well for them, as well as me, that I had then a free acceſs to Sion College library, by an order from the preſident and ſome of the heads of that ſociety, and which I had made uſe of for ſome years, whenever I ſtood in need of it; ſo that I readily engaged to ſtrike out all thoſe that I ſhould find there, provided they would promiſe to find me all the reſt. By which means, as well as by the kind aſſiſtance of my good friend the reverend Mr. Reading, the late worthy library-keeper, who having the goodneſs to bring me all the books I called for, without the trouble of my looking out for them in their reſpective ſhelves, to my writing deſk at the farther end of the library, I could with eaſe conſult all my authors, make what extracts I wanted out of them, after which he took the pains of returning them to their proper places.

Now as this ſaved the bookſellers the buying of near, if not more than 100 *l.* worth of books, and me a great deal of trouble, (for Mr. Reading did moſt frequently enquire

quire of me what part of a book I deſigned to conſult, and being well acquainted with moſt of them, brought them to me opened at the very place I wanted, which enabled me to make more diſpatch, and to keep up to the time of publication) I inſiſted at one of our meetings, and I thought juſtly too, that they ſhould, by way of acknowledgment, preſent either the library, or the worthy keeper of it, with a ſet of volumes, as ſoon as they came out, which, I told them, might likewiſe be a means of recommending the work to thoſe divines and others that frequented that place. They all ſeemed readily to agree to the propoſal, and I acquainted Mr. Reading, who was not a little pleaſed with it, and told me, that, for his part, he was very ready to do all he could to promote our deſign, without any ſuch view, though he ſaid that he ſhould be glad to ſee it preſented to the library, as it was a work which he much approved as far as we had gone, the chronology excepted, to which he thought that of the learned Uſher vaſtly preferable. I told him I was wholly of his opinion, and was ſorry Mr. Sale had ever fixed upon this, but that it was done before I was concerned in the work, and could not now be retrieved, at leaſt in this firſt edition, but by the readers making up the dif-

ſerence either in their mind or with the pen. I added, that I had reaſon to believe, that if the work came ever to be reprinted, we ſhould exchange it for that of Archbiſhop Uſher, as we have actually done. However, as ſoon as the firſt part of the Jewiſh hiſtory was printed off, I took a little receſs among ſome of my friends in Hampſhire, where I compleated my next taſk, viz. the hiſtory of the Celtes and the Scythians, and as I had the free uſe of ſeveral libraries there, I ſaved the proprietors the charge of buying thoſe books I was ſure to find in any of them, and as ſoon as I found by the public papers, that the firſt volume was publiſhed, wrote a letter to put them in mind of their promiſe of preſenting one of them to Sion College library, but I was much ſurpriſed at my coming to town, to find that they had abſolutely reſolved againſt it, on pretence that it might hinder many clergymen from buying it, if they could have the reading of it there. I tried in vain to forewarn them that I ſhould want moſt of the ſame ſcarce and chargeable books, beſides a number of others, for the writing the ſecond part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, in a ſubſequent volume, in which caſe they could not expect that I ſhould again have recourſe to my good friend Mr. Reading, but muſt of neceſſity be at the expence of buy-

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ng them; they choſe to run the hazard of it, and I took care not to ſpare them in one of them, when it came to the point.

From theſe few inſtances, the reader may eaſily gueſs that the then partners were not quite ſo ſolicitous for the credit of the work, as might have been wiſhed, conſidering how well it took by this time. But I muſt in juſtice to them acquaint him, that (beſides the great difficulties they laboured under to procure proper hands to go on with it, and for which I refer him to what I have ſaid in the dedication and preface to the laſt volume of the folio edition) they had met with many unexpected and conſiderable loſſes; ſome of the newly engaged authors, for inſtance, took up pretty round ſums before-hand, and never wrote a line of the part they had undertaken; others, even among the old ones, wrote theirs in ſuch a careleſs manner as not to be fit to appear in print, when they came to be examined by the reſt, and yet were paid the ſame to the full as if their copy had paſſed muſter, though the whole was to be done again *de novo*, and the retarding of the work was an additional loſs to the proprietors. I will add, that I have ſince known near twenty ſheets of the beginning of the Byzantine hiſtory, done by a judicious hand, and printed off, yet con-

demned to waſte paper chiefly becauſe it was ſpun to too great a length, which was ſtill a much greater loſs. The truth is, that the author of the Roman hiſtory, having wire-drawn it to above three times the length it was to have been, there was an abſolute neceſſity of curtailing that of the Conſtantinopolitan emperors, to prevent the work ſwelling into an enormous bulk, and he himſelf hath abridged it in ſuch a manner as hath quite marred it, ſince the reader will find moſt reigns contained in as many ſhort paragraphs as they would have required ſheets, which is ſo much the greater loſs to the public, inaſmuch as the Roman hiſtory being ſo well known, and written by ſo many hands, was the fitteſt to have been thus epitomiſed; whereas the Byzantine, though equally curious and inſtructive, is ſo little known, that it ought to have been written in a more copious manner, eſpecially as it abounds with the moſt intereſting incidents to the church as well as the ſtate. So that the author hath done in both reſpects the very reverſe of what he ought to have done.

The reader may, from the inſtances above mentioned, ſuppoſe perhaps, that we the authors kept conſtantly to our meetings and examining each part in a body, as we uſed to do at firſt ſetting out, a method of the greateſt

greateſt conſequence towards the carrying on ſuch a work, and which the proprietors were not wanting in generoſity to promote, but we ſoon found the new comers ſo averſe to continue it, or ſubmit the review of their copy to the old ones, that they either abſented themſelves from our meetings, or elſe condeſcended only to anſwer ſuch queſtions as were asked them by the old ones concerning their fixing any point of hiſtory, which had a connection with that of another nation, as the Macedonians and Greeks, for inſtance, done by two or three hands, to prevent our claſhing with each other about uncertain or controverted facts; in every reſpect, they inſiſted on going on each in his own way, as they were, they told us, ſufficiently acquainted with the ſubject they had in hand. By this means it was that they indulged themſelves in the liberty of going beyond their bounds, and ſwelling each part to double the bulk agreed on, by often repeating the ſame common facts in each ſeparate hiſtory, which we had agreed ſhould be related at length but in its proper place, whilſt every other occaſion that offered for freſh mention of them, was to be only referred to that, either as promiſcua to follow in the ſequel, or as a reference to what had already been ſaid.

For we had from the beginning agreed upon this method, that nothing ſhould be related at length concerning the hiſtory of any nation or country, but what was tranſacted within the boundaries of it; and that the wars, conqueſts, &c. which were carried on abroad, ſhould be mentioned chiefly in the hiſtory of thoſe countries where they were made; to do otherwiſe, would be, as was hinted at the beginning of the firſt volume, treating thoſe conquered nations with the ſame arbitrary contempt and neglect as their conquerors had formerly done. Thus, for inſtance, it was reſolved that Alexander's hiſtory ſhould be confined to Macedonia, and his other conqueſts referred to that of thoſe nations he ſubdued; that that of the Romans, ſhould be confined within the limits of Italy, and their new lawleſs acquiſitions referred to the hiſtory of the Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Carthaginians, &c. that were to follow. This would at once have effectually cut off all needleſs repetitions, with which the work hath been ſwelled beyond its deſigned length, without docking the hiſtory of any nation, as we have been ſince forced to do, to avoid falling into the ſame fault in which the writers of the ſeveral Greek hiſtories have fallen, where the reader may ſee the ſame facts related over and over in the hiſtories of the Macedonians, Athenians, Spartans, &c. not without

without ſome viſible and unjuſtifiable variations, all which might eaſily have been avoided, had the authors kept within the rules abovementioned. But no one hath ſhewn a greater diſregard to them, than the author of the Roman hiſtory, who hath ſwallowed up all the unhappy nations that fell into thoſe conquerors clutches without diſtinction, and expatiated with the ſame diffuſeneſs on their hiſtory without, as he hath in that within their territories, which though ſome of our readers have approved of, as it gives a more connected hiſtory of that nation, a thing ſo much the leſs needful in a work of this extenſive nature, as we have it written in a body by ſo many different hands, yet hath been highly diſliked by the far greater, and I may add the more judicious part of them, as contrary to our plan and engagements to the public, and to the nature of an Univerſal Hiſtory, wherein that of every nation, ſhould be found fully diſplayed, and every fact confined to its proper ſcene of action. It was to the neglect of attending to, or rather keeping up to this original deſign, that we muſt aſcribe two conſiderable defects in the work, againſt which our readers have juſtly complained. The one, that ſome hiſtories, as for inſtance, that of the Carthaginians, had been fraught with an unneceſſary repetition of all their

wars with the Romans, or which had been already fully related in the Roman hiſtory, to the ſwelling of the work beyond its due limits; the other, that to avoid that inconveniency and charge to the purchaſers, thoſe of the Gauls, Germans and Spaniards are truncated, and their wars with, and reduction by the Romans, are barely referred to what hath been ſaid in the Roman hiſtory, where they are ſcattered and ſo interſperſed with that of other nations, that it cannot be called a regular and compleat hiſtory of them. And what is this but abſorbing all theſe brave nations by the lump, into that of their tyrannic conquerors? and how could I, to whoſe lot the hiſtory of thoſe three ancient nations fell, avoid it by any other way, but that of recapitulating all afreſh, in the moſt compendious manner I could, to avoid ſwelling the work and referring the reader to the volume and page of the Roman hiſtory, where the facts are mentioned at length? And there was by that time the more cauſe to abridge all theſe needleſs repetitions, becauſe the purchaſers, and after them the bookſellers, had juſtly complained, how vaſtly the work was already ſwelled beyond the bounds to which we had promiſed to confine it. But this was not ſo readily complied with by the reſt, who having finiſhed each their reſpective hiſtories, according to the

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plan and method agreed upon, and mentioned above, and either did not dream that the writer of the Roman hiſtory would go contrary, or when they found he had, did reſent it too much to ſuffer their own to be truncated on his account, inſiſted upon their being printed at full length, and with all their repetitions. And this the bookſellers were forced to ſubmit to, for fear not only of diſobliging the authors, but likewiſe of retarding the regular publication of the volumes.

But what will eaſily convince the reader, as it hath me long ſince, how much more earneſt the writer of the Roman Hiſtory was to promote his own ignoble intereſt, at the expence of the proprietors as well as the credit of the work, is, that when he came afterwards to write the ſecond part of the hiſtory of the Perſians, he hath repeated at length all their wars with the eaſtern emperors, together with all the other facts and incidents that paſſed between them, at full length, inſtead of referring to what he had formerly ſaid in the Byzantine hiſtory; for this plainly ſhews that the *dulcis odor lucri*, more effectually influenced him than all the complaints of the proprietors and purchaſers, which laſt were become ſo riſe that we thought it neceſſary to publiſh ſomething by way of excuſe for this exceſs of bulk, and at the

the ſame time to make the beſt apology we could for that and other deviations from our original plan, without diſcovering the cauſes they were owing to, which would have rather helped to diſcredit the work in the eye of the world, which did not dream how little unanimity there was in our proceedings, and how impoſſible it was for the beſt inclined of us to keep ſuch ſelfiſh ſpirits as were then employed, within the bounds preſcribed. I ſhall now give a farther inſtance of it, and ſuch a pregnant one, as will convince the reader that ſuch a work as this could never be carried on fairly, and according to our promiſe, notwithſtanding all our care and precaution, even in the ſecond impreſſion of the work; how much leſs poſſible muſt it have been, to have done ſo in the firſt?

But there was ſtill a greater inconvenience reſulting from theſe repetitions, and the monſtrous bulk of the Roman hiſtory, and by that time the ſeventh volume was finiſhed, the public began to think we deſigned to ſpin the work to nine or ten, for there were ſtill a great number of ancient kingdoms and countries to be deſcribed, according to our original deſign, ſuch as the Mohammedan hiſtory, and other nations interwoven with it, conſiſting of above twenty articles in Mr. Sale's plan, moſt of them of ſuch hard names

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as few readers were acquainted with, beſides the kingdoms of the great Mogul and other parts of India, thoſe of Siam, China, Japan, Tartary, Ruſſia both in Europe and Aſia, the Turkiſh empire in both, and the whole country of America; all which could hardly be contained in leſs than two volumes at the leaſt. However, by that time the ſeventh volume was publiſhed, the proprietors met with ſo little encouragement to go on from the purchaſers, and were already ſuch conſiderable loſers, that they thought fit to ſtop there, and leave the work thus maimed and imperfect; but what not only determined, but in ſome meaſure forced them to it, was their having the mortification ſoon after, to ſee their property invaded by three different pyratical bookſellers of Dublin, who, as they were not at any other charge than printing and paper, both which are much cheaper in Ireland than here, could well enough afford it to the public for half the price that ours ſold for at London, and unknown to each other reprinted the work there word for word, two of them in folio and the third in octavo, and when each of them came to underſtand that the like pyracy had been committed by the other two, fell foul againſt each other in their advertiſements, in ſuch language and opprobrious names as all three juſtly deſerved. As therefore ſuch a piece of

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flagrant injuſtice could not but greatly affect the original proprietors, who were already ſo conſiderably loſers, it could not be expected that they ſhould run the manifeſt hazard of throwing away more money in purſuit of their plan. We were therefore obliged to frame another kind of excuſe for their dropping it, viz. that thoſe countries and kingdoms not ſpoken of in the foregoing volumes, being of later diſcovery, ſuch as India, China, &c. in Aſia, a great part of Africa, and the new American world, they would be more properly deſcribed, and their hiſtories begun and continued in the modern part, which they were however no farther reſolved to go on with, than as they found a probability of its meeting more encouragement than the old had hitherto done. So that they had now time to think on ſome proper means of ſuppreſſing the three pyrated impreſſions as far as poſſible, by expoſing them to the public as they juſtly deſerved, and propoſing to give the world a new and more correct edition of the whole in octavo, together with additions of ſuch material points as had been omitted in the former.

When this ſecond impreſſion came to be reſolved on, both the authors and proprietors, ſenſible of the many miſcarriages of the former, for want of our following our firſt plan, did unanimouſly agree among other

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things, that every one of us in the reviſing, correcting, and improving each our reſpective parts, ſhould oblige ourſelves, ſo far to ſtick cloſe to it for the future, that all the unneceſſary repetitions ſhould be reſcinded, and every hiſtorical fact be confined to the hiſtory of that country in which it was tranſacted, and no where mentioned at length but there; as the conqueſt of Sicily in the hiſtory of that Iſland, of Carthage in that of the Republic, of the Spaniards, Gauls, &c. in that of thoſe nations, which was the only way of making every one of them compleat, and at the ſame time ſhorten the work, by the avoiding all needleſs repetitions. And this we not only promiſed, but bound ourſelves in writing to perform, however, to make the point ſtill more ſure, as I had reaſon to doubt an unanimous compliance to the agreement from one quarter, I further propoſed that no part ſhould go to the preſs, till it had been examined and approved by the reſt. This was accordingly oppoſed by the party I ſuſpected under ſeveral ſpecious pretences, ſuch as taking up too much time, as we lived at ſome diſtance from each other, the danger of miſlaying or loſing ſome of the copy, and having now and then ſome alteration in controverted points, all which might retard if not hinder the work, upon which the proprietors thought fit to give it up, and

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to depend upon our honour for the exact performance of our agreement. However, as he hath hardly in one ſingle inſtance kept up to it, but hath reprinted, not only his own Roman hiſtory, but ſeveral other parts done formerly by other hands, and now committed to his care by the bookſellers, almoſt verbatim from the firſt edition, to the no ſmall trouble of, and damage to the other authors who had filled up theſe unneceſſary chaſms in their reſpective parts, which he ſhould have ſtruck out of his own, and have been ſince obliged to erafe all thoſe additions; he hath ſufficiently convinced every one of us what his views were in ſo ſtrenuouſly propoſing my propoſal, and conſequently how impoſſible it is for ſuch a deſign as this to be rightly executed, unleſs the whole care and reviſal be left to one ſingle perſon of ability equal to it. The thing is now paſt all remedy with reſpect to this ſecond edition, though it may be eaſily rectified in every reſpect in a future one, if any ſuch may ever find encouragement. But the wrong done to the public in this ſecond, is the more conſiderable, through the unfairneſs of the author above mentioned, inaſmuch as, though he is the only one concerned, that hath not complied with our articles, he has by his ſubdulous artifice had the far greater ſhare in the work committed

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to him. And I think I have the greater right to complain of his breach of promiſe, and the diſcredit he hath brought on us and the work, as I can make it appear that neither in the firſt nor ſecond edition, I have ever departed from our original plan, in any of thoſe parts I have been engaged in, nor inſerted any thing in them except by way of promiſſum or reference, that properly belonged to another. And for the truth of this I ſhall only appeal to theſe parts, a liſt of which I ſhall, in juſtice to my own character, now give to the reader.

1. The Jewiſh hiſtory, from Abraham, to the Babyloniſh captivity.

2. The hiſtory of the Celtes and Scythians.

3. The ancient hiſtory of Greece, or the fabulous and heroic times.

4. The ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory, from the return from Babylon, to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus.

5. The hiſtory of the ancient Empires of Nice and Trebizon.

6. The hiſtory of the ancient Spaniards.

7. Of the Gauls.

8. Of the ancient Germans.

In the ſecond edition, wherein we endeavoured to ſupply all the material omiſ-

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ſions in the firſt, the following parts came to my ſhare, viz.

1. The ſequel of the Theban, and Corinthian hiſtory.

2. The retreat of Xenophon.

3. The continuation of the Jewiſh hiſtory, from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus, to this preſent time.

I muſt here obſerve with reſpect to the laſt of theſe, that it had been promiſed in our plan from the very beginning, but had been deferred, as more properly belonging to the modern hiſtory; upon which ſeveral of our ſubſcribers and correſpondents complained of the omiſſion, as it is a ſubject not only curious and inſtructive, but likewiſe little known, and therefore much wanted; upon which we had agreed to ſatisfy their demand, and to have inſerted it at the end of the ſecond part of the Jewiſh or the Roman hiſtory, and I had accordingly prepared it for the preſs againſt that time, and beſtowed full ſix months in the writing of it, beſides what I had ſpent before in collecting ſuch curious materials as fell in my way; ſo that the copy, which will make about fifteen or ſixteen ſheets of the octavo edition, hath been a good while in the hands of the propietors, and, as I had reaſon to expect, would have been printed before now in the fifteenth or ſixteenth volume, of which

which I had appriſed ſeveral of my correſpondents, as well as thoſe of my acquaintance who enquired after it. But to my ſurprize, the proprietors have ſince determined to poſtpone it till the Modern Hiſtory comes out, as it brings the hiſtory of the Jewiſh nation down to the preſent time, which no other in the work doth, and can have no place in the Antient. But the real cauſe was the want of room, the work being like to ſwell beyond the number of volumes promiſed in their propoſals.

The truth is, they being in ſome meaſure obliged to include it within the compaſs of twenty, or at moſt twenty-one volumes, in order to ſuppreſs the pyratical Iriſh edition (which was promiſed to be contained within that number, though without any probability (or perhaps deſign) of their ſo doing, if one may gueſs by the bulk of each of thoſe volumes that have been publiſhed) there was a neceſſity of reducing matters within a narrower compaſs. And this upon a ſtrict computation might have been eaſily done, notwithſtanding the ſeveral additions that were to be made to the work, had all the needleſs repetitions been reſcinded, the ſtyle made more conciſe, and a great number of ſuperfluous facts, circumſtances,

diſquiſitions, and controverſies, moſt of them uſeleſs, and incompatible with the nature of ſo extenſive a work, been ſtruck out of both the text and notes, as we had agreed ſhould be done by every one in his reſpective parts, and hath been actually done by all but one, and him the perſon who had the largeſt ſhare in the reviſing and contracting of the work; ſo that through his neglect and non-compliance, the work hath ſwelled not only much beyond our computation, but would have done much more ſo, had not the proprietors, from a laudable deſire of keeping up as much as could poſſibly be done to the firſt propoſals, not only generouſly thrown in five or ſix ſheets extraordinary into every volume, but likewiſe enlarged every page both in the length and number of the lines, by which each volume, from the fourth downwards, may be juſtly ſaid to contain between ſix or ſeven ſheets more of matter than was originally propoſed, or than the third or fourth contained. And this I am bound to mention in juſtice to them, becauſe though they were conſiderable loſers by the firſt edition, they yet choſe to put themſelves to this extraordinary expence, rather than incur the charge of impoſing upon the public, by the unexpected addition of three or four volumes more than they

they had engaged to compriſe the whole work in. However, I cannot but be ſorry that theſe conſiderations ſhould be looked upon as a ſufficient pretext for their ſuppreſſing that ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory I have been ſpeaking of, contrary the original plan of the work, and the expectation of ſo many of its encouragers. And I do purpoſely take notice of it, that in caſe I cannot prevail upon them to print it at the end of the work, and leave it at the option of the ſubſcribers, either to buy or leave it, the public may know where the fault lies, and that my friends may not lay it at my door.

Thus much may ſuffice for the hiſtory of this work, and to account for the great imperfections of the firſt edition, and for the ſecond not turning out better than it hath; and I doubt not, when the reader conſiders all theſe things, he will be apt rather to wonder, as I have often done, that it is come out ſo well as it is. I have no intention, much leſs any cauſe to reflect on the proprietors of the work, eſpecially thoſe who are become ſo ſince the deaths or failure of moſt of the old ones. They have ſpared neither pains nor coſt towards its improvement, nor been wanting in generoſity to the authors. They never once diſputed with me about the

price I ſet upon my labour, nor refuſed to ſupply me with ſuch ſums as I drew upon them for. This is indeed more than I can or ought to ſay of the old ſet of them, ſome of whom often put us to great difficulties by their ſordidneſs and mutual jealouſies and miſunderſtandings, all which I with pleaſure obſerved to vaniſh upon the coming in of this new ſet. It is true that as far as related to me, they always found me diligent and punctual; I performed the parts I undertook to the beſt of my ability, and being content with a moderate gain, could beſtow the more time and labour upon them, and always took care to have them finiſhed at the time required; and ſo wholly, and I may add cordially, was I intent upon the work in general, that I would never engage in any other whilſt that laſted. And this they were ſo far ſatisfied of, and ſo entirely relied on me, that whether in town or country, I have been allowed to draw upon Mr. Millar, for ſome ſcores of pounds before-hand, which were punctually anſwered by him, though neither he nor any of the partners ever ſaw any of my copy till it went to the preſs; and when printed off paid the ſurplus with uncommon generoſity, for I always took care to keep within compaſs. This may look like

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vanity for me to ſay of myſelf, but as it will not be made public till after my death, when I ſhall be out of the way of reaping any ſatisfaction from it, but the conſciouſneſs of having acted an honeſt part; and as this hath been my conſtant method with all the bookſellers with whom I have been concerned, and for this I dare appeal to all who have employed me, I am the leſs ſcrupulous about any ſiniſter conſtruction a cenſorious reader may put upon it; thoſe who have known me and my converſation for much above theſe twenty years, will I hope paſs a more candid judgment upon it.

However, with reſpect to the management of the partners about this ſecond edition, I cannot but obſerve that they were guilty of two fatal errors. The firſt in committing ſo great a ſhare of the work, as well as the reviſal of the whole, to a man, who they had all reaſon to believe aimed chiefly at gain and diſpatch, and to agree with him by the lump as they did, which would only prove a temptation to him to hurry it off as faſt as he could, and as he accordingly did, to their no ſmall mortification, as well as hurt to themſelves and the work. I might add, that as he was and owned himſelf quite unacquainted with the the eaſtern languages, he was the moſt unqualified for ſe-

veral parts that fell to his lot of any; and if care had not been taken, would have committed ſuch miſtakes in the very ſpelling of proper names, as would quite have diſcredited it.

The other was their engaging to publiſh a volume monthly, and beginning to publiſh before they had a ſufficient number ready printed before-hand, to have enabled them to keep up to their time; the want of which precaution hath ſince obliged them to have ſeveral volumes on the anvil at different preſſes at once, and to be diſpatched with ſuch precipitation, that the compoſitors have overlooked many literal errors which had been corrected by the authors, and, which is ſtill worſe, this hath likewiſe made it impoſſible for us to make the proper and neceſſary references from one volume to the other, as they were printed at the ſame time, and not regularly one after another, as they ſhould have done, ſo that in ſome caſes we could hardly refer to the volume, much leſs to the page; but the reader will find many inſtances of this laſt.

I ſhall now give ſome few uſeful hints how this work may be made compleat in a future edition by one ſingle hand, if equal to the taſk; firſt, let whoever undertakes it read it all over again attentively and regularly, one volume after another, and as he reads, common-place every thing, perſon, fact, &c.

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as if he deſigned it for a compleat and copious index. Let him not depend upon that general one which is ready made to his hand, at the end of the work, and where all theſe needleſs repetitions, inconſiſtencies, and contradictions may be artfully omitted or concealed, but either make a full and exact one *de novo*, or at leaſt conſult the printed one upon every point he reads over, and mark down every ſuch omiſſion or concealment; though, were it my caſe, I ſhould rather prefer the former, becauſe there will be the leſs labour loſt, as it will ſtand ready for ſuch when the work comes to be reprinted, and he will have afterwards nothing to do but add the printed pages to every article as they come in courſe, only if it ſhould be deemed too full, he may ſtrike out afterwards ſuch as appear of leſs moment. But he will find this ſingular benefit by ſuch an exact common-placing of every thing, that it will diſcover to him at once every needleſs repetition, every inconſiſtency and contradiction as he reads on, which he may at the ſame time mark down in the margin of the book, in order to correct them in the ſecond reading. He may then ſet down likewiſe in the margin the volume and page where the ſame thing is told before, where it is differently related or ſet in a different light, and in caſes that admit a diſpute, by conſulting the original authors,

be able to judge which is right or moſt probable. Thus, for inſtance, when he finds the very ſame fact related in the hiſtories of Sicily, Rome and Carthage, he will eaſily know where they ought to have been ſet down at length, namely, where the ſcene of action happened, and where only to be referred to, viz. in the other two. So that whatever either the Romans or Carthaginians tranſacted in Sicily, ſhould be only promiſed or referred to in their hiſtory, and only related at full length in that of the Sicilians, and ſo of the reſt. He will likewiſe, by by ſuch an index, find out where any facts or tranſactions have been differently related or repreſented by each of their writers, who muſt of courſe be ſuppoſed, and will upon trial, be found to claſh often, for want of frequently conferring with each other, or duly conſulting and examining, or perhaps ſome times of rightly underſtanding the original authors they pretend to follow.

By this means he will likewiſe be able to diſcover many facts related in one place, which more properly belong to, or might be more conveniently transferred to another, and place them ſo accordingly in his marginal notes. By that time he hath common-placed the whole ſet of volumes, he will be likewiſe able to diſcover every material omiſſion under every article, either from

from his own memory and reading, or by turning to the index of ſuch books as treat of the ſame ſubject, and be able to ſupply every ſuch defect from them. Thus in the articles of nations, as Jews, Egyptians, Romans, &c. or of cities, as Jeruſalem, Alexandria, Rome, &c. if he finds any thing material, which not being in his common-place book, makes him conclude it was omitted in the work, he will likewiſe eaſily ſupply from thoſe authors and their indexes, and the ſame may be done by the articles of names of kingdoms, provinces, monarchs, &c. by furniſhing himſelf with the beſt modern authors who have wrote of them, and ſupplying each with every thing he finds wanting in his own common-place book, as well as exchange ſome leſs material trifles that are in this, for more momentous ones he will find in them; all which may be done with little trouble, and he will ſtill reſerve to himſelf the liberty of the difference in controverted points he will meet with among thoſe moderns, by having recourſe to the original ones; for he muſt make it a ſtanding rule to himſelf, not to rely on the former which are more copious than exact, without conſulting the latter, and where thoſe differ among themſelves, as they often do, to uſe all proper helps either to reconcile

cile them, or to chuſe the more probable ſide.

This would have been the method I ſhould have taken, had I had any ſhare in the reviſing any other but my own particular parts in the work; tho' I muſt ſtill have thought it too much for any one to have reviſed the whole, and ſhould have thought it neceſſary to have imparted the above mentioned rules to the reſt, in order to have enabled them to have rectified every miſtake, contraſt, and jarring, between their parts. For as I knew that all the hopes of the proprietors, was in a ſecond, and more correct edition, to reimburſe the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the firſt; I had their conſent to compoſe the index to each of the volumes, (the firſt excepted, which was done by the ſame hand that wrote the Roman hiſtory, and juſtly condemned for its unneceſſary length and verboſity) by which I could obſerve as I read along, and marked in the margin of the leaves, every needleſs repetition, ſuperfluity, contrariety, omiſſion, tranſpoſition, &c. that would be neceſſary to make the next impreſſion more compleat, eſpecially when I came to make the general one to the whole; and was the better enabled by it to reſcind and alter what I found amiſs or ſuperfluous in thoſe parts that came more

more immediately under my care, though I have had ſince reaſon to think I have gone too far in it, and out of complaiſance to the proprietors, who complained that my Jewiſh hiſtory was too diffuſe for a work of this nature, have been prevailed on to ſtrike out in this ſecond edition many curious things, which I have ſince found had been very well liked and approved of in the firſt. But without ſuch reſciſions it was impoſſible to bring the whole within the compaſs propoſed, eſpecially as they were ſo much neglected in ſeveral other parts of the work, which would at leaſt as conveniently admit of them, ſuch as the Dynaſtes of the Egyptians, the hiſtory of Perſia from the oriental writers, and many other ſuch fabulous abſurdities. However, I cannot accuſe myſelf of having ſuppreſſed any thing that was of moment in that hiſtory; though ſeveral perhaps, and to my no ſmall regret, which would have been acceptable to the curious in that kind of learning. As for all the other parts within my province, I have rather enlarged and improved them with new proofs, obſervations and curious additions, as may be eaſily found by comparing the two editions together.

With relation to the deſiderata in both editions, I cannot forbear taking notice, that the

the ancient hiſtory of the northern nations, ſuch as Moſcovy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, &c hath been altogether omitted, except ſome few hints that have been given in that of the Scythians and Celtes, intimating only that the former were originally deſcended from the latter. It is indeed commonly believed that theſe remote nations have no records of their ancient times, but I had a ſingular opportunity of being convinced of the contrary, by a learned gentleman who was a profeſſor of hiſtory, &c. in the univerſity of Abbo in Norway, but came to London moſtly every ſummer as an agent from the king of Sweden, and among other new books, uſed to buy ſeveral ſetts of the Univerſal Hiſtory for that Prince, for count Coninſegg, and other great perſons in that kingdom. This gentleman having expreſſed a deſire to Mr. Symons his bookſeller, and one of the proprietors, of converſing with one of the authors, particularly with that of the Jewiſh hiſtory, we ſoon came acquainted together, and upon my enquiring of him after ſuch records or monuments of thoſe nothern nations on which one might compile their ancient hiſtory, gave me ſuch a ſatisfactory account, as made me perſuade Mr. Symons, and the other partners, to engage him to undertake

undertake it, which he, with ſome difficulty, agreed to do, notwithſtanding his other avocations. I had the pleaſure of ſeeing him every time he came to London, and to hear how well he proceeded in the work; and accordingly in about three years he brought a large and elaborate account of all the northern nations and countries, their origin, ancient ſettlements, hiſtory, &c. with many curious obſervations on their geography, natural hiſtory, and the whole backed with ſuch good authorities and proofs, as one would hardly have expected from ſuch barren climes, and was recommended by ſeveral of the moſt learned men in Sweden and Norway, who had the perſual, or even contributed to ſome part or other of it.

This chapter, which, according to our original plan, was to have preceded the irruption of the Huns, Goths, Vandals, Suevi, &c. into the ſouthern parts of Europe, would have given a much better and clearer account of theſe barbarous nations, than that which hath been given in the hiſtory of their new ſettlements in Hungary, Italy, France, Spain, &c. The misfortune was, that it proved too bulky (though nothing could be ſaid to the ſuperfluous or impertinent in it) it being computed to amount to above ſeventy folio ſheets, for which they

they could not find room, our work being already ſwolen vaſtly beyond its bulk; ſo that Dr. Sidenius, that was the learned author's name, had the mortification of having that curious part refuſed by the proprietors, and returned upon his hands, the old ones, as Meſs. Symon and Batley, being dead, and the reſt, except Mr. Oſborne in Grays-Inn, being gone off, and the new ones not looking upon themſelves concerned in the agreement. And this I mention with no ſmall regret, becauſe it was a conſiderable loſs to the learned world, as well as to the author, and ſuch as I much fear will hardly be ever recovered.

In the interval between the concluſion of the firſt, and the reſolution of printing the ſecond, I was invited into a ſhare of the new Syſtem of Geography, in which though the Public found juſt fault with the extravagant length of that which related to Great Britain and Ireland, I yet found the authors concerned in it, ſo well qualified for the work, ſo communicative and punctual in their regular meetings once a fortnight, that I readily came into it, and found with pleaſure the work carried on with more unanimity, exactneſs, and to the ſatisfaction of the proprietors, as well as the public. The parts I did in the work were thoſe that follow. 1. Spain, Portugal and the Iſlands belonging

belonging to them. 2. Italy, Savoy, Piedmont, and the iſlands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, &c. 3. Muſcovy both in Europe and Aſia. 4. Turky in Aſia. 5. In Aſia, China, Japan, Jetzo, and the iſlands along thoſe coaſts, particularly that of Formoſa, which part I choſe, that I might take occaſion publickly to acknowledge, as it were by a third hand, the falſhood and impoſture of my former account of that iſland. 6. In Africa, the kingdoms of Egypt, Abyſſinia, Lybia, Barbary, Tripoli, Tunis, Morocco, Fez, with an account of the Mediterranean Sea, and the famed river of Sanaga. 7. The Azores iſlands. 8. In America, the countries of Braſil, Magellan, Terra del Fuego, Canada, Louſiana, and the Bahamas and Bermudas iſlands. And by the time I had concluded theſe laſt, I was called upon to prepare my reſpective parts of the Univerſal Hiſtory, for the ſecond impreſſion mentioned above. I however found ſufficient reaſon to complain of the wrong management of this work in ſeveral reſpects, though otherwiſe carried on with greater exactneſs and unanimity than that of the Univerſal Hiſtory, and I ſhall now take the liberty of mentioning ſome of the moſt conſiderable ones, becauſe they have been the cauſe of ſome unavoidable errors and blunders, not only in the two above mentioned works

but

but in moſt others that have been publiſhed in the ſame or near the ſame way. The firſt is the authors being tied to produce ſuch a number of ſheets in ſo ſhort a time as is almoſt incompatible with their deſire, if any ſuch they have, of performing their reſpective parts with any exactneſs; for, though the publiſhers ſeldom fail of acquainting the public that the work is either already, or pretty near finiſhed and ready for the preſs, ſo that there is no danger of its meeting with any delay or impediment, yet that is ſeldom if ever the caſe; and with reſpect to the works I am ſpeaking of, I found it quite the reverſe, and that they have frequently been ſent to the preſs, under the promiſe of being regularly publiſhed, by ſuch a number of ſheets every week or month, when ſcarcely a fourth part of it was written. So that, to prevent the retarding of the work, they have been obliged to call in for new helps, whom they have obliged to engage to perform their part in leſs than half the time, that it would have reaſonably required; conſidering that they not only had it all to begin and go through in that ſhort ſpace, as was the caſe in this new Syſtem of Geography, but that ſome of them were likewiſe engaged in ſome other work, between which and this, they were forced to divide their time and diligence, though either of them did more than

than require it all; and how could it be poſſible for either to be performed as it ought?

Another miſmanagement from the beginning was, the interlarding every fourth or fifth number with a ſet of maps, which indeed gave ſome breathing time to the authors, but then it confined them to receive all their directions concerning the limits, ſituation, longitude, latitude, diſtances, &c. from thoſe maps, which, being ſuch as the engraver rather than the authors had made choice of, as the moſt authentic in his opinion, were not always ſo judiciouſly choſen as could have been wiſhed. This made many errors remedileſs and irretrievable, becauſe the greateſt part of thoſe maps had been publiſhed in ſuch numbers, ſeveral months before the authors were called upon to begin the geography of thoſe countries. This I often complained of to the proprietors from the beginning, both as a great overſight and a hardſhip upon the authors, who, inſtead of being allowed to direct the engraver in the choice or compiling of them, were obliged to follow him implicitly, and often contrary to their own opinion and liking, in thoſe which he had thought fit to pitch upon for our guide. Thus in the map of Japan, for inſtance, the land of Jetzo is affirmed to be the ſame with Cumſchatta, though contrary to fact, it not being ſo much

as part of it. I might add likewiſe, that thoſe maps confined us to the orthography of places, though very often erroneous, or being of foreign extract, conveyed a wrong ſound of the name to an Engliſh ear.

But the moſt conſiderable miſmanagement was in the choice of ſuch printers as bore indeed the greateſt ſway and intereſt, and who conſequently had ſuch a glut of buſineſs, that every thing was diſpatched with the utmoſt hurry and precipitation, in order to keep up to their time. This never failed cauſing a great deal of confuſion and incorrectneſs in the printing, particularly in the orthography of proper names, and giving the authors a great deal of trouble in correcting the proofs, which, however, was but too often of no ſervice, through the hurry the compoſitors were in, which made them overlook and often neglect thoſe corrections. It frequently happened likewiſe, that they required ſuch a quick diſpatch of the author, in correcting the ſheets, that they had not time enough to read them over with that carefulneſs they would otherwiſe have done; ſo that they themſelves could not avoid overlooking even ſome material errors in the ſpelling, but moſt chiefly in the numbers and figures. As for me, it being my conſtant rule not to be engaged in two works at once, I never would let a proof

go

go out of my hands, without a ſecond, and, in ſome caſes, a third reading, but I have often found that I might as well have ſaved myſelf that labour, ſince the correctors or compoſitors had not time enough left to make the proper emendations, and ſometimes have ſent the ſheet to the preſs before the proof hath been returned.

To prevent this unfair dealing, as I may juſtly call it, or at leaſt to lay the blame at the right door, I had taken a method of inſiſting upon having two proofs of each ſheet, ſent me from the preſs; under pretence of keeping one of them by me, to refer to when it was requiſite, but in fact by correcting both proofs alike in the margin, to be able to produce that which I kept by me, againſt both the compoſitor, and corrector, whenever they were guilty of any ſuch neglect. But as ſoon as my deſign was found out by them, ſome plauſible excuſes were made, for not continuing to ſend duplicates, and I was forced to give up that point, unleſs I had a mind to diſoblige the very maſters printers, who were ſome of the richeſt, and bore the greateſt ſway with the proprietors, and had already deprived us, under the pretence of diſpatch, of the privilege of reviſing our copy, after our firſt correction. This laſt indeed was denied us, on account of the unreaſonable trouble, which one of the authors too frequently gave them,

in thoſe reviſes at the firſt ſetting out; who did often require three or four of them, and every one loaded with new, and moſtly needleſs alterations, which took up ſo much of the compoſitors time that they were obliged to complain of it. This was, though true with reſpect to one author, but a poor pretence for depriving the reſt of the liberty of one ſingle reviſe, which they chiefly inſiſted on, not ſo much to make any neceſſary alterations, as only to be ſatified that none of their corrections were overlooked. However, the point was over-ruled by the printers; and that material check being taken off from the compoſitors, the literal errors multiplied ſo faſt upon us, eſpecially in the words and quotations out of the eaſtern languages, that we were obliged to take notice only of ſuch as were of the greateſt moment in the table of errata of the firſt edition, and to curtail as many of thoſe foreign words as we could in the ſecond, eſpecially thoſe of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac kind.

Theſe are ſome of the principal cauſes of that incorrectneſs which commonly, I had almoſt ſaid unavoidably, happen in theſe kinds of works, let an author be ever ſo deſirous and careful to avoid them, unleſs he hath ſo great a ſway over the printers, that they dare not refuſe him the liberty of reviſing his own work as often as he ſees it needful. And the leaſt that he can inſiſt on,

for

for his own credit and ſatisfaction, 's a reviſal of every proof after it hath been corrected by him.

I did take occaſion to mention a little higher the wrong information which Mr. Palmer gave me concerning Biſhop Hare's Metrical Pſalter, which was, unknown to me, put into Mr. Bowyer's hands to print, whilſt I was writing the firſt part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, and as there had elapſed ſeveral years between the time, in which Mr. Palmer was applied to by Dr. Waſhburn, and that of my becoming in courſe to write on the ſubject of the Hebrew poetry, which had confirmed me in the opinion that the biſhop's deſign was quite ſet aſide, I made no difficulty to affirm after the generality of the learned writers on that ſubject, that the metre of the Hebrew Pſalms and other poetical pieces in the Old Teſtament, was looked upon as irretrievably loſt, notwithſtanding the efforts of ſome, and the pretences of others, who vainly imagined they had or were in the way of recovering it. I backed my opinion with ſome new arguments which had occurred to me during my fruitleſs ſearch after it, and which apparred to me to carry no ſmall force. This part, which was contained in the ninth number of the firſt volume, was ſcarcely publiſhed, before the biſhop's Pſalter came out. It may be eaſily imagined that my curioſity would not permit

me to be long without examining that performance, which ſeemed to overthrow all that I had ſaid on that ſubject, and ſadly was I vexed that my part was publiſhed before I had ſeen this unexpected piece. Had I dreamed of any ſuch being ſo near coming out, I would doubtleſs have ſuppreſſed mine till I had thereby examined it. What ſurpriſed me moſt, and made me entertain ſome higher notion of that enterprize, was the long interval which had paſſed between the time of its being finiſhed and offered to Mr. Palmer, and that of its being publiſhed, which I reckon to have been about ſix or ſeven years, and which I therefore ſuppoſed the biſhop and his learned friend Dr. W—— had ſpent in the reviſing and poliſhing it; but, upon ſtricter enquiry, I found the cauſe of that delay to have been of a different nature, and was as follows.

His lordſhip had excepted againſt Mr. Palmer's Hebrew types, which were of Athias's font, and a little battered, and inſiſted upon his having a new ſett from Mr. Caſlon, which greatly exceeded it in beauty. But Mr. Palmer was ſo deep in dept to him, that he knew not well how to procure it from him without ready money, which he was not able to ſpare The biſhop likewiſe inſiſted upon having ſome Roman and Italic types caſt with ſome diſtinguiſhing mark,

mark, to direct his readers to the Hebrew letters they were deſigned to anſwer, and theſe required a new ſett of punches and matrices before they could be caſt, and that would have delayed the work, which Mr. Palmer was in haſte to go about, that he might the ſooner finger ſome of his lordſhip's money. This put him upon ſuch an unfair ſtratagem, which when diſcovered, quite diſguſted his lordſhip againſt him, viz. repreſenting Mr. Caſlon as an idle, dilatory workman, who would in all probability make them wait ſeveral years for thoſe few types, if ever he finiſhed them. That he was indeed the only artiſt that could ſupply him with thoſe types, but that he hated work, and was not to be depended upon, and therefore adviſed his lordſhip to make ſhift with ſome ſort which he could ſubſtitute, and would anſwer the ſame purpoſe, rather than run the riſk of ſtaying ſo long, and being perhaps diſappointed. The biſhop, however, being reſolved, if poſſible, to have the deſired types, ſent for Mr Bowyer, and aſked him whether he knew a letter founder that could caſt him ſuch a ſett out of hand, who immediately recommended Mr. Caſlon; and, being told what a ſad and diſadvantageous character he had heard of him, Mr. Bowyer not only aſſured his lordſhip that it was a very falſe and unjuſt one, and engaged

to get the abovementioned types caſt by him, and a new font of his Hebrew ones, in as ſhort a time as the thing could poſſibly be done. Mr Caſlon was accordingly ſent for by his lordſhip, and having made him ſenſible of the time the new ones would require to be made ready for uſe, did produce them according to his promiſe, and the book was ſoon after put to the preſs; and this it was that had ſo long retarded its publication.

I was not long without it, and muſt own that his preface, in which his lordſhip confuted, with uncommon learning and keenneſs, all the ſyſtems that hitherto appeared in public, raiſed my expectation to a high degree. For if the metre of the ſacred book could but be ſuppoſed to come up to the loftineſs and dignity of the thoughts and expreſſions, (and who could ever have doubted of it, that conſiders how much greater genius the latter requires than the former?) it muſt, I thought, have greatly excelled that of Homer and Virgil But how great was my ſurpriſe, when upon reading on I found that his lordſhip had reduced it to a poor low, crawling, humdrum bitony of trochaics and iambics, or *vice verſa* as the reader pleaſed, and into which he might with eaſe, and with much leſs than half the variations, maiming and diſtortion of the text, have reduced any common proſe out of any language! How much

much more ſtill to find in almoſt every line, words, and ſometimes whole verſes, mutilated, ſtretched out or lopped off, tranſpoſed or exchanged *ad libitum*, in order to bring them to his ill-contrived ſtandard! To hear a learned prelate, with all the ſeeming gravity imaginable, affirm that the Hebrew poetry, (which by the way was arrived to ſuch prodigious heights, with reſpect to the grandeur and loftineſs of its figures and imagery, even ſo early as Moſes's time) was even ſo low as in David's time, ſo crude, imperfect and vague, as not to have ſo much as a determinate difference between long and ſhort ſyllables, eſpecially conſidering to what a height of perfection that monarch had improved the art of muſic; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing than all the reſt, to ſee his lordſhip, in conſequence of this his low conceit of the Hebrew poetry, take ſuch pains to marr, deface, and deſtroy ſome of the moſt ſurpriſing, loftly and complicated figures and alluſions in that ſacred book, and ſuch as far excel all that is to be met with in the Greek and Latin poets. But for theſe I muſt refer the reader to what I have obſerved of the Hebrew poetry, and on that abſurd performance, in the Univerſal Hiſtory (ſee vol. iv of folio edition p. 710, *& ſeq.* and notes, and in the octavo one, vol. x. p. 202, *& ſeq.* and note (E). The occaſion of my being

obliged

obliged to make thoſe animadverſions on it, was as follows.

I was ſo ſhocked at the freedom which that prelate took to depreciate, mutilate and vilify ſo ſublime a ſet of the nobleſt and moſt divine poems, that I thought myſelf obliged to write againſt him, and to expoſe, as they deſerved, all his unfair criticiſms on it, all his forced emendations, and, above all, the abſurdity of his new-diſcovered metre; but withal, in ſuch a reſpectful manner, as was due to a perſon of his character. And in order to that, retired for three months into Surry and Hampſhire, where I had an opportunity to conſult, upon proper occaſions, ſome of my friends, who were no ſtrangers to that kind of learning. I found the taſk the leſs difficult, as I preſently fell in among ſome of them, who not only condemned his performance, but had raiſed already ſome very material objections againſt it, which they readily communicated to me as ſoon as they were appriſed of my deſign. One of them among the reſt had (by way of expoſing his lordſhip's contemptible metre) reduced the Engliſh Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, and the *Te Deum*, into the ſame crawling meaſure; whilſt I, who wholly confined myſelf to the Hebrew, had already done the ſame by the firſt chapter of Geneſis, and the laſt chapter of Malachi,

chi, both which I had likewiſe turned into the ſame dull verſe, without half the deviations from the text, which his lordſhip had been forced to make in almoſt every Pſalm. Some of his very pretended emendations proved ſuch, that the frequency of them directed me to the diſcovery of a more elegant metre than he had ever dreamed of, and which convinced me, as they have ſince many more Hebraiſts, that there was in the metre of the Pſalms, not only a real and ſettled diſtinction between the long and the ſhort ſyllables, but that two of the latter were equivalent, in the conſtituting of a foot or verſe, to one of the former; ſo that they had at leaſt three different kinds of feet, viz. long monoſyllables, biſyllables, conſiſting of two long, and triſyllables, conſiſting of two ſhort and one long, or *vice verſa*; but which in the metre anſwered to a ſpondee, or two long ſyllables. Of this I gave ſo many inſtances, as made me think, contrary to what I had done till then, that the Hebrew metre was not ſo irrecoverably loſt as I had imagined, and that a little more application than I had time then, or have had ſince to beſtow upon it, might go near to recover moſt, if not all, the various kinds of it.

However, as ſoon as I had finiſhed what I, and ſome of my friends as well as I, thought

thought a ſufficient confutation of the biſhop's performance, and in the ſame, tho' not ſo florid and elegant a Latin, I ſent to deſire one of my bookſellers to enquire of Mr. Bowyer, whether the new types, caſt for his lordſhip, were ſtill in his poſſeſſion? and whether I might be permitted the uſe of them, in the anſwer I had prepared for the preſs? I was anſwered in the affirmative; but one bookſeller took into his head to aſk at the ſame time, what number of copies his lordſhip has cauſed to be printed of his Pſalter? and was anſwered only five hundred; one half of which had been preſented by his lordſhip to his learned friends, both in and out of England, and moſt of the reſt were ſtill unſold, there being but few among the learned, that were curious in ſuch matters, the performance having been diſapproved by all that had ſeen it. This news ſo cooled the bookſellers eagerneſs after my anſwer, that, upon my coming to town, and their acquainting me with the ſtate of the caſe, I was quite diſcouraged from printing it. For they concluded from what Mr. Bowyer had ſaid, that it would be dangerous to print above three hundred of mine, the charge of which being deducted, the profit, upon a ſuppoſition that they were all ſold, would be ſo ſmall, that they could not afford me above two or three guineas for my copy, (which would

would have made about ſeven or eight ſheets of a middling octavo) without being loſers. This was their way of computing the matter, againſt which having nothing to object, I locked up the papers in my cabinet, where they have lain ever ſince. They did indeed offer me better terms, and to print a greater number of copies, if I would be at the trouble of printing it in Engliſh, which they thought would be more univerſally read, out of diſlike to the biſhop; but, beſides that I cared not to be at the pains of Engliſhing it, I thought it below the ſubject to print it in any other language, but that in which his was wrote, and ſo wholly declined it.

I lodged then with the curate of the pariſh *, who, upon my coming from Hampſhire, told me the following ſtory, which I give on his authority, for I never enquired farther into it—That his rector, the reverend Dr. Nichols, acquainted the biſhop, that he had a gentleman in his pariſh, who deſigned ſhortly to publiſh a confutation of his Hebrew metre. The biſhop aſked whether he was equal to the taſk? and was anſwered, that he was thought ſo by all that knew him, and that he was the perſon who had wrote the Jewiſh hiſtory, wherein he had given a greater character of the Hebrew poetry than

* St Luke's, Old-ſtreet.

his

his lordſhip ſeemed to do in his book, and that he was one of the perſons concerned in the writing of the Univerſal Hiſtory. The biſhop then aſked his name, and being told that he called himſelf Pſalmanazar, expreſſed himſelf with ſome warmth to the company, that there was never a Jew of them all that underſtood any thing of Hebrew, much leſs of the ſacred poetry; and being told that I was no Jew, but in all appearance an honeſt and ſtrict churchman, who would doubtleſs uſe his lordſhip with the reſpect due to his character; he appeared a little better ſatisfied, and willing to ſuſpend his judgment, till he ſaw what I had to ſay againſt him.

And here I cannot forbear making an obſervation, or two, on his lordſhip's ſpeech, taking the ſtory for true, which I am the more inclined to believe to be ſo, becauſe he was always known to have a ſingular contempt of the Jews, ſo far as related to their knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The one is, that this mean opinion of them muſt be owing to his ſmall acquaintance with them; otherwiſe he might have found in London ſeveral of them very learned in that tongue, (beſides a much greater number abroad, eſpecially among the northern ones) and who, bating their different interpretations of thoſe main prophecies which relate to the Meſſiah, could have diſplayed to him

a much greater and deeper ſkill in that ſacred tongue, than he appears to have had, by any thing one can find in his book. The other is, how his lordſhip came to take Salmanazar for a Jewiſh, inſtead of an Aſſyrian name; for as the monarch ſo called, was one of thoſe monarchs who carried away part of Iſrael captives into Aſſyria; a Jew would as ſoon call a ſon of his Beelzebub, as Salmanazar, or Nabuchadnezzar.

However, the abovementioned ſtory, as well as the expectation which my friends in Hampſhire, Surry, and London, were in, to ſee my anſwer to him, gave me no ſmall regret, leſt my not publiſhing it ſhould be interpreted in favour of his performance, or as my yelding the point to him, as not being able to confute him. And could I have afforded it, I would have run the hazard of printing it at my own charge; for I was above doing it by ſubſcription, it being ſo ſmall a thing as a pamphlet of at moſt eight octavo ſheets; and much more loth was I, all the above things conſidered, to let a work ſeemingly calculated to depreciate the excellence of the ſacred poetry of the Old Teſtament, to go uncenſured; eſpecially as I had ſo many ſtrong objections ready levelled againſt it. At length a thought came into my mind, as I was then preparing new materials for the ſecond part of the Jewiſh hiſtory,

tory, to reſume that ſubject there. And this I thought, I was ſo much better intitled to do, if it were but in defence of what I had ſaid in the firſt part in praiſe of the Hebrew poetry, and which was, in moſt caſes, quite oppoſite to the character, which his lordſhip gave of it in his book. The collecting, and compleating of the canon of the ſacred books by Ezra, and other inſpired writers, and their appointing of the proper leſſons, pſalms, &c. for the divine worſhip, gave me a fair opportunity for it, which I was the more ready to take, as I knew that it would be read by many more people in ſuch a work as that, than in a Latin pamphlet, and would of courſe more effectually expoſe the abſurdity of his pretended new-found metre, as well as the unſeemly freedom he hath given himſelf in altering and mutilating the ſacred text for the ſake of it. I therefore reſolved to take notice, in juſtice to his lordſhip, of all juſt, laudable and uſeful diſcoveries he had made on that ſubject in the text, and to throw the main part of my objections againſt the reſt of his book in a long note, in the moſt ſuccinct and impartial manner I could, in hopes that the ſetting both forth, as it were, in one view, might probably excite ſome who had more learning and leiſure than I, to follow the hints there given, as the moſt likely means for

for compleating the deſired diſcovery, to which his lordſhip had in a great meaſure opened the way, though he had ſo unhappily miſcarried in the end. The difficulty was how to contract my materials ſo as not to over-ſwell that part of the work, as it muſt have done if I had brought every thing into it, which I had wrote on that ſubject, and this obliged me to ſtrike off near two thirds of them, and to confine myſelf to the moſt material points, ſuch as would moſt effectually anſwer the two main ends I had in view, viz. the exploding the biſhop's new metre, and giving the curious reader, that would go about it, a clue to find out the original one of the ſacred books; for as to what I deſigned to have ſaid in praiſe of the Hebrew poetry, had the ſubject been printed ſeparately, it was the leſs neceſſary here, as I had already expatiated ſo much upon it in the firſt volume. Some of the proprietors and authors were indeed againſt my deſign, not only as it would ſwell the chapter beyond its length, but likewiſe as the ſubject in queſtion appeared to them foreign to the reſt of its contents; but I had the pleaſure not only to carry my point againſt them, but likewiſe to have the performance commended by ſeveral learned men, as well as by all my friends; inſomuch that upon my conſulting ſeveral of them, whether I might

not in the ſecond or octavo edition (in which we were obliged to contract our materials, in order to reduce the whole within the propoſed limits) either wholly omit or content myſelf with a ſhort mention of what I had done more at large in the folio; they adviſed my be no means to curtail the main ſubject, though I might, they thought, eraze here and there an explanatory or critical note, which I readily complied with.

Soon after I had concluded my laſt part of the Ancient Hiſtory, the proprietors and authors had ſome meetings together to conſult upon the going on with the modern, and ſeveral plans were propoſed by different perſons of learning and capacity. The misfortune was, that this part likewiſe was to be confined within the compaſs of twenty volumes, of the ſame bulk with the Ancient, and theſe gentlemen differed ſo much in the proportion they allowed to each reſpective country or kingdom, that we could ſee but little likelihood of making any tolerable computation, either of what the whole might reſonably amount to, or of what number of ſheets might be properly allowed to each hiſtory. As for me, the more I conſidered the great extent of the work, and the number of empires and kingdoms which had not ſo much as been touched upon in the Ancient Part, ſuch as Turkey, India, the great

great Mogul, Tartary, China, Japan, &c. the greateſt part of Africa, and the whole tract of America, to ſay nothing of Ruſſia and ſeveral other northern countries in Europe; the more I was perſuaded of the impoſſibility of reducing the whole within ſo ſmall a number of volumes, unleſs it was done rather by way of epitome, than of a compleat, though ever ſo ſuccinct, hiſtory. But though this appeared ſtill more viſible by the ſmall number of ſheets which theſe plans, however different, allotted to moſt parts of the work, and muſt have been perceived by almoſt every reader, at the firſt view, yet the proprietors, who had their particular reaſons for fixing upon that number of volumes, would by no means conſent to have it exceeded. This however occaſioned ſome demur, during which, ſome of the beſt judges in this kingdom, and out of it, were conſulted, as well as about the propereſt method of beginning and purſuing this modern part.

FINIS.